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Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines

Université de Sherbrooke

"The loveliest lake in the New Dominion": Montreal *villégiateurs* on Lake Memphremagog, 1860-1914

Par

Jody Robinson 1983 –

Mémoire présenté pour obtenir

La Maîtrise ès arts (histoire)

Université de Sherbrooke

Novembre 2012

Composition du jury

"The loveliest lake in the New Dominion": Montreal *villégiateurs* on Lake Memphremagog, 1860-1914

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans les années 1860, de riches Montréalais anglophones ont commencé à acheter des propriétés sur les rives du lac Memphrémagog pour construire des résidences d'été somptueuse. Chaque année, ces hommes d'affaires bourgeois et leurs familles ont passé une grande partie de l'été à leurs maisons de campagne, en faisant de la natation dans le lac Memphrémagog, le canotage, le tennis de pelouse et visiter leurs concitoyens Montréalais. L'émergence des résidences d'été sur le lac Memphrémagog faisait partie d'une tendance plus générale de villégiature au Québec et en Amérique du Nord, qui a résulté en grande partie de la révolution industrielle et du mouvement romantique. Cette recherche analyse l'architecture et l'aménagement paysager des résidences d'été du 19^{e} siècle sur le lac Memphrémagog, elle cherche à comprendre les facteurs qui ont amené les riches Montréalais à ce lac dans les années 1860. Elle examine également comment leur appartenance à la classe supérieure a affecté la façon dont ils ont vécu au bord du lac.

Grâce à cette étude, il devient évident que les valeurs de romantisme et de la bourgeoisie ont influencé de façon significative l'emplacement et le style choisi par les Montréalais pour leurs propriétés d'été. En outre, un examen des activités sociales et récréatives des résidents d'été sur le lac Memphrémagog indique que les Montréalais ont recréés une grande partie de leur sphère sociale urbaine dans la compagne, associant principalement avec d'autres familles bourgeoises et de poursuivre un grand nombre des mêmes activités. Néanmoins, les principales sources indiquent que la relation entre les résidents locaux et les résidents d'été étaient généralement positives.

Mots clé : Montréal anglais, Lac Memphrémagog; villégiature; Québec; architecture; romanticisme; nature; culture haute société.

SUMMARY

In the early 1860s, wealthy English Montrealers began to purchase property on the shores of Lake Memphremagog to build lavish summer estates. Each year, these upper-class businessmen and their families would spend a significant part of the summer at their country houses, swimming in Lake Memphremagog, boating, playing lawn tennis and visiting fellow Montrealers. The emergence of summer residences on Lake Memphremagog was part of a broader trend towards *villégiature*, or tourism, in Quebec, and in North America, that largely resulted from the rise of the Industrial Revolution and the Romantic Movement. This research analyses the architecture and landscaping of the nineteenth-century summer residences on Lake Memphremagog as it seeks to understand the factors that brought wealthy Montrealers to this lake in the 1860s. It also examines how their upper-class background affected the way they experienced leisure while at the lake.

Through this study, it becomes evident that Romanticism and upper-class values significantly influenced the location and styles chosen by the Montrealers for their estates. Additionally, an examination of the social and recreational activities of the

summer residents on Lake Memphremagog indicates that the Montrealers re-created much of their urban social sphere in the country, associating mainly with other upper-class families and pursuing many of the same activities. Nonetheless, the primary sources indicate that the relationship between the local residents and the summer residents was generally a positive one.

Key words: English Montreal; Lake Memphremagog; *villégiature*; Quebec; architecture; romanticism; upper-class culture; nature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this research has been a very long time in coming and, over the course of the years, many people have played a role in its fruition. Firstly, I would like to thank Peter Gossage for encouraging me to apply to the Université de Sherbrooke; without his initial prompting, I would not have had the opportunity to experience all that the Département d'histoire of U. de S. offers to its students. I appreciate all of the time Peter Gossage and Peter Southam spent in supervising my first attempt to finish this thesis. Their valued guidance was integral in developing the subject and direction of this research. Even after all this time, I still am enjoying my subject! Likewise, I appreciate Peter Southam's commitment to supervise my thesis, even after having retired from U. de S., and his patience with my slow pace. His suggestions were indispensable when putting my first chapters together.

I cannot adequately express my gratitude for Harold Bérubé's willingness to assume the supervision of my thesis in this last attempt at its completion. He is a brave soul. I am forever thankful for his gentle nudging, thoughtful comments and for the time he has spent reviewing many versions of this paper. It was a pleasure to have worked with him in this endeavour.

I would also like to thank all those at the Colby-Curtis Museum, in Stanstead, who gave me a job for a summer and allowed me to conduct the bulk of my research during that time. I am so fortunate to have had that blessing and my time at the Museum has served me well in both my academic and professional life. Similarly, many thanks to the committee members of the Eastern Townships Resource Centre, in Lennoxville, for supporting my quest to complete this work and for giving me the time to restart the writing process after a year away. Without that significant contribution, it is likely that I would have given up.

There have also been a handful of people who were gracious enough to impart their knowledge to me on various subjects over the course of my research: John Scott, Derek Booth, Jacques Valiquette and Francis Williams. I greatly appreciate the time they took to share their research with me.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Jonathan, for his support through this long process and for all the times he entertained our children so that I could work on the final revisions.

Although this is but a small token of my gratitude, I would like to offer you all a heartfelt "thank you". None of this would have been possible without you.

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"Lake Memphremagog"

Sweet is the scented gale on they borders,
Sweet is all about thy waters,
But sweeter by far the solemn calm
that gives thee they greatest charm.

Oh Lake, thy soft refreshing gale
It breathes into my breast;
My frame so frail, my cheek so pale,
Is with new colors dressed.
[...]
Oh Lake, to thee I turn from riot and from noise,
Turn to partake of more congenial joys;
Turn with delight, and bid the passions cease
And drink deep the calm of happiness and peace, [...]
-Robert Millington[1]

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, a growing number of wealthy Montrealers were choosing to escape the city during the summer months in preference for locations with more 'congenial' scenery and fresher air. Among the popular summer destinations were the shores of Lake Memphremagog, with its perceived rejuvenating characteristics, as illustrated in the above poem, excerpted from an 1871 issue of the *Stanstead Journal*. From 1860 to the early twentieth-century, a selection of upper-class Montreal families made Lake Memphremagog, in Quebec's Eastern Townships region, their summer home. Along the pristine shores they built impressive country estates, with sprawling lawns and gardens, wharves to dock their personal yachts and servants to wait on them.

When I first embarked on my research for this study of nineteenth-century summer estates on Lake Memphremagog, a few characteristics stood out. Most curiously among these initial impressions were, firstly, that the summer estates only started to appear in 1860. Secondly, the majority of these estates were owned by Montrealers. This lead me

[1] "Lake Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal*, 14 September 1871. From looking at the Canadian census returns for 1871, it is likely that the poem's composer was an English emigrant residing in Stanstead.

to wonder what occurred around 1860 to prompt the establishment of country houses on the lake. It also made me wonder what it was about Lake Memphremagog that made it such an appealing destination for these elite Montrealers. The following research represents my pursuit of the answers to these questions.

The case of wealthy summer tourists on Lake Memphremagog was part of a broader North American trend, most often termed *villégiature* in Quebec history. The word 'villégiature', coming from the Italian *villegiatura* and which lacks a suitable English equivalent, means to take a vacation in the country, at the ocean or in some other pleasurable location, for the purpose of relaxation.[2] The emergence of this phenomenon, which can first be seen in European countries such as England and France, was primarily a result of the societal and cultural changes brought about by industrialization and romanticism at the turn of the nineteenth century. Significantly, however, *villégiature* was specifically an elite trend. During this time period, they were the only social class that had the financial means to travel to distant locations and pay for lodging for prolonged periods of time. Furthermore, romantic concepts, such as the appreciation of nature and the picturesque, were well received by members of the upper class, thus creating in them a desire to seek out nature and the wilderness that did not exist among members of the working classes.

In looking at summer tourists on Lake Memphremagog, a few characteristics stand out and make it a valuable example of *villégiature* in Quebec. While it emerged as a popular tourist destination in the second half of the nineteenth century for both Canadians

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[2] Michèle Dagenais, "Fuir la ville: villégiature et villégiateurs dans la région de Montréal, 1890-1940," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 58, 3 (2005): 319 and Michel Lessard and Gaston Cadrin, "Les sentiers de la villégiature," *Cap-aux-Diamants*, no. 33 (1993): 10.

and Americans, there was a notable difference in the way each group chose to enjoy the lake. The Canadians, mostly upper-class, English Montrealers, primarily chose to buy property and build estates along the lakeshore while the Americans generally preferred to frequent hotels and boarding houses. Returning each summer, for years and even decades, the Montreal *villégiateurs* formed a community with others like themselves while passing their days pursuing characteristically upper-class activities.

Over the remainder of the century, Lake Memphremagog's popularity with tourists would wax and wane with the changing economic trends and tourist preferences and, yet, many of the original Montreal families maintained their presence, continuing to summer there each year. Lake Memphremagog's estate-owning Montreal families are particularly significant because they represent a distinct group of *villégiateurs*. In part, the Montrealers under examination here were among the wealthiest and influential families in Quebec and a study of the way they experienced *villégiature* allows us to understand the ways in which their upper-class status and culture affected their pursuit of leisure and nature. Additionally, the study of their multi-generational presence at the lake allows us to better understand the dynamics of the social sphere they created for themselves, as well as the interactions between summer residents and local residents.

Through an examination of the primary sources, this thesis will present evidence of the strong romantic influences in the experience of *villégiature* in Quebec and, more specifically, in the Lake Memphremagog region. The architecture of the country houses built by Montrealers demonstrated styles that purposely integrated elements that were linked to romanticism. Similarly, they chose picturesque locations and landscaping so that they would be able to appropriately appreciate their natural surroundings. However,

in studying the Montrealers on Lake Memphremagog, it is evident that their upper class status heavily influenced their presence. While the architectural styles and landscaping demonstrate the influences of romanticism, they also indicate an obvious status consciousness as they sought to denote to on-lookers the wealth and prestige of their upper-class position. Similarly, the activities pursued by the Montreal *villégiateurs* were also heavily determined by their social status. During their time at the lake, their social interactions were largely restricted to other members of the upper class, partaking in leisure activities appropriate to their position. Though generally positive, interactions between local residents and summer residents were typically of an economic nature.

In order to explore and answer pertinent questions regarding the Montreal *villégiateurs*, such as what attracted them to Lake Memphremagog initially and what environment did they create for themselves, I will approach the subject through five chapters. First, I will begin with an overview of the historiography on the subject of *villégiature* with a focus on the province of Quebec. This survey will provide the theoretical framework for the following analysis as it emphasizes the importance of romanticism in the study of *villégiature.* Chapter Two further elaborates the influence of romanticism on *villégiature*, along with describing the significant ways in which industrialization contributed to its emergence with a special focus on the situation in Quebec. In particular, there will be a discussion of how romanticism influenced the way Lake Memphremagog was portrayed in artwork and travel literature. Chapter Three addresses the various factors that encouraged upper-class Montrealers to make Lake Memphremagog their summer home. It will be seen that transportation developments, such as railway expansion, made regions such as the Eastern Townships more accessible

to *villégiateurs*. More importantly, it will also provide biographical information on the Montreal *villégiateurs* highlighted in my thesis and will describe how personal and business connections played a role in their choice of Lake Memphremagog as their *villégiature* destination. By examining the country estates of four of the most prominent Montreal *villégiateurs* on Lake Memphremagog, Chapter Four will explore how romanticism and upper-class culture impacted architectural styles and landscaping. Finally, I will conclude with an analysis of the activities and social interactions pursued by upper-class *villégiateurs* while at Lake Memphremagog, including a look at their interactions with local residents.

CHAPTER I
HISTORIOGRAPHY, THEORY AND SOURCES

The emergence of *villégiature* on Lake Memphremagog in the mid-nineteenth century was neither an entirely unique development in Quebec nor did it occur in a vacuum. Crucial to an understanding of this phenomenon as it developed on Lake Memphremagog is a broader sense of the factors at play – the economic, societal and cultural circumstances – that contributed to the emergence of *villégiature* across the Western world. This chapter seeks to explore the most prominent ideas surrounding *villégiature* through an overview of the existing literature on the subject, with a focus on the studies which have most significantly informed the following analysis.

According to the historiography, the popularity of *villégiature* was fed by ideas of romanticism, antimodernism and the rustic that had become widespread among the upper class. Many members of the elite had come to believe that the city, with all the consequences of rapid industrialization, was unhealthy and nature its cure. Notions such as these were combined with an image of nature as idyllic, beautiful, and instilled with rejuvenating qualities.[1] Nineteenth-century romanticism, which was accompanied by this idealization of nature, played a central role in the development of *villégiature.* In addition to various contributing factors, this cultural and artistic movement strongly influenced many aspects of *villégiature* as it emerged, including popular locations of *villégiature*, country-house architecture styles and landscaping styles, which will be explored below.

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[1] Michèle Dagenais, "Fuir la ville," 316-345.

1.1 Romanticism, industrialization and tourism in the Western World

When taken in the broadest sense, the historiographies of Western romanticism and industrialization are quite extensive. Consequently, for the purposes of this study, it will be most valuable to look at both of these concepts as used in the narrower context of tourism. Among the research that has been carried out on these subjects, historians have explored the rise of nineteenth-century tourism through the frameworks of romanticism, industrialization, urbanization and, less commonly, antimodernism.

One of the most significant artistic and cultural movements among the Western middle and upper classes during the nineteenth century was romanticism. Although it did not become widespread in Western thought until later, Edmund Burke expressed the main ideas connected to romanticism in 1757 in his published work titled *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. In this work, Burke "gave a 'dignity to primary emotional drives' which was extremely influential, for it helped to discredit rationalism and prepare the way for the Romantic Movement."[2] Not unlike antimodernism, the popularity of romantic thought spread as people began to examine the complexity of urban life and to question what may have been lost through the process of 'civilization'.[3]

Historians of nineteenth-century nature and tourism, such as Mark Girouard and Witold Rybcyznski, frequently refer to romanticism in their analysis; however, although they make frequent allusions to its influence, they do not offer a coherent analysis of the

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[2] Malcolm Andrews, as quoted by Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 8.
[3] Jasen, *Wild Things*, 15.

relationship between romanticism and tourism.[4] The works of authors such as Patricia Jasen and Roderick Nash, on the other hand, provide detailed and thoughtful examinations of the way romanticism contributed to the rise of tourism and influenced perceptions of nature.[5] In her study of tourism in Ontario from 1790 to 1914, Jasen uses romanticism as the basis of her examination. She maintains that this movement led to a much greater appreciation of landscapes and nature and, more fundamentally, links it to the growing tendency among members of the middle and upper classes to attribute greater value to their feelings and their imagination. Essentially, according to Jasen, "[t]he study of tourism in the nineteenth century in fact reveals that the tourist sensibility was overwhelmingly a romantic one."[6] While Nash's work does not specifically include tourism, his detailed study of nature and the American wilderness provides valuable insight into the way romanticism affected the overall perception of nature, changing it from something to be conquered to something that could be appreciated as "a cultural and moral resource".[7]

Most historians looking at nineteenth-century tourism point to, even if only briefly, the strong influences of industrialization in the development of this phenomenon. With the rapid urbanization of the nineteenth century, poor sanitation and over-crowding made North American cities unhealthy environments where disease and sickness spread

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[4] Both Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*, (New Haven (Mass.): Yale University Press, 1978), and Witold Rybczynski, *Waiting for the Weekend*, (New York: Viking: 1991), point specifically to the influences romanticism in their observations.

[5] Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things*, and Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[6] Jasen, *Wild Things*, 7.

[7] Nash, *Wilderness,* 67. Offering further insight into the West's perception of the value of nature, Simon Schama examines the depth of Western culture's inextricable connection to nature through the exploration of landscape myths. More significantly, he argues that such an exploration is necessary in order to illuminate just how much humanity stands to loose by our own domination of nature and, subsequent degradation of the planet, [Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996].

rapidly; a condition which only worsened during the hot summer months. Contemporaries also perceived the fast-paced urban, industrial life to be detrimental to their mental health. Historians have repeatedly pointed to these elements as the key driving forces behind the upper class' and upper middle class' migration to the country and the seashore.[8]

T. J. Jackson Lears provides one approach to this relationship through an examination the nineteenth-century American pursuit of 'real life', visceral experiences. He sees this fashion for 'real life' experiences as a manifestation of 'antimodernism', a current of thought brought about by disillusionment with industrialization. Mark Stoll includes religion as he explores the relationship between capitalism, Protestantism and America's deep-seated ideas about nature. He argues that Protestantism inspired both the capitalist work ethic (which includes exploitation of nature) and contemporary conservation movements.[9]

James Winter uses capitalism and urbanization to explore nineteenth-century British tourism and attitudes towards nature. In particular, he notes that technological advances, such as steam engines, both allowed for a greater number of urban-dwellers to seek out nature, as tourists, as well as allowed for some of the resulting environmental damage of industrialization to be exported throughout the empire. Interestingly, he also finds that

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[8] A number of historians identify the connection between the detrimental urban environment and the growth of *villégiature* , such as Caroline Aubin-des Roches, "Retrouver la ville à la campagne," *Urban History Review* 34 (2006): 17-31, and Dagenais, "Fuir la ville". Robert Fishman, in *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia,* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), in his discussion of the creation nineteenth-century suburbs points to the moral degradation of the cities as part of the drive behind the creation of suburban communities. The elites viewed a move to the suburbs as a way to protect women and children from the "dangers, cruelty, bad language, suffering and immorality" that ran rampant in the city (58). Given the otherwise similarity between the origins of the suburbs and country estates, the morality question likely played a role in their desire to escape the city.

[9] T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place for Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981); and Mark Stoll, *Protestantism, Capitalism and Nature in America*, (Ablaquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

the upper class made the distinction between moral recreation – those who pursued "enjoyment without vice" – and immoral recreation, such as labourers who spent their weekends at the bar.[10]

In a more concise work, William Cronon effectively brings these approaches together in his exploration of the conceptualizations of wilderness from the nineteenth century to the present day. In particular, he identifies two cultural constructs that shifted wilderness from a dangerous, barren land to a beautiful "Eden"-like place: the sublime (a concept popular in romanticism) and the frontier. The new value attributed to the wilderness encouraged tourists to seek it out in the effort to experience the breath-taking emotions, then often described in religious and visceral terms, that defined the sublime. The concept of the frontier played an important role in the transformation of the wilderness. Similar to Jackson Lears, Cronon describes the frontier, or wilderness, as a place where men could return to the work and experiences that would make them 'real men'. Notably, Cronon also identifies the important role of social class as he observes that "frontier nostalgia became an important vehicle for expressing a peculiarly bourgeois form of antimodernism. The very men who most benefited from urban-industrial capitalism were among those who believed they must escape its debilitating effects".[11]

When considered together, the research on nineteenth-century nature and tourism suggests a duality in contemporary interpretations. From one perspective, industrialization led to a greater need to harness, or dominate, natural resources in order to meet the needs of 'progress'. From the other perspective, romanticism fostered a

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[10] James H. Winter, *Secure from Rash Assault: Sustaining the Victorian Environment*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1999), 4-5, quote 212.

[11] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking Human Place in Nature*, edited by William Cronon, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 69-90, quote 78.

greater appreciation of nature, which was viewed as the cure for the ill-effects of industrial 'progress'. As will be seen in the following analysis, the Lake Memphremagog model of *villégiature* demonstrates this simultaneous appreciation and domination of nature that has been observed in the studies of tourism and nature mentioned above. Given this, romanticism and industrialization are vital to this discussion of *villégiature* on Lake Memphremagog and form the theoretical framework for this analysis.

1.2 *Villégiature* in Quebec, 1850-1920

Given that nineteenth-century *villégiature* was limited to the upper class and, as a result, figures prominently in this analysis, it will be useful to briefly discuss the characteristics of this social class. Although they have not always carried the same definition, to avoid repetition, the terms "elite", "upper class" and "bourgeoisie" will be used interchangeably for the purposes of this study. The bourgeoisie, as it emerged in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has been closely associated with the ideals of liberalism, capitalism and the Industrial Revolution. They were the members of a society that possessed the greatest amount of economic resources and influence. As described by theorists such as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the bourgeois class also represented all that was destructive and negative about those ideals, seeking to achieve maximum economic gain at the ultimate cost and oppression of the labouring classes. However, the upper class cannot be defined solely through their monetary value; strong cultural and social characteristics undeniably contribute to the make-up of the upper class in a given

society.[12] Notably, as described by Harold Bérubé, "[c]es composantes économique, sociale et culturelle de l'identité bourgeoise font système, se renforcent mutuellement et contribuent à la forte cohésion sociale de cette classe".[13]

These characteristics can be seen in the case of nineteenth-century Montreal, where the upper class was dominated by Protestant, Anglophone businessmen who were typically of English or Scottish decent. To further put this into perspective, by 1900, Canada's economic wealth was in the hands of approximately 50 Montreal men.[14] In his look at the upper class Montreal neighbourhood of the Square Mile, Roderick McLeod makes a similar observation in noting that "with very few exceptions, [...] the people who came to live in the GSM [Golden Square Mile], had a great deal in common socially, ethnically and culturally".[15] And, thus, these are the characteristics of Montreal's upper class, which will occupy a key role in this thesis as owners of the summer estates on Lake Memphremagog.

Before *villégiature* became 'in-style' among the Canadian bourgeoisie, it was established as a popular trend in Europe during the eighteenth century and then, somewhat later, became fashionable in North American high society. Alain Corbin, in his work on the emergence of leisure activities in France, identifies its origins to lie with the upper class, the 'leisure class,' arguing that they were the only social class capable of pursuing such frivolity and define it as a constructive use of time. Corbin also includes a chapter on nature and vacationing, in which he highlights the importance of the perceived

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[12] For an overview of the varying interpretations and definitions of the upper class, middle class and bourgeoisie, please see Harold Bérubé, "Des banlieues qui se distinguent : gouverner Westmount, Pointe-Claire and Mont Royal (1880-1939)," (Doctoral Thesis, Quebec, Université du Québec, 2008), 23-27.
[13] Harold Bérubé, "Des banlieues," 25.
[14] Margaret W. Westley, *Remembrance of Grandeur: the Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal, 1900-1950*, (Montreal : Libre Expression, 1990), 17.
[15] Roderick MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile, 1840-1895," (Doctoral Thesis, Montreal, McGill University, 1997), 122.

health benefits the French bourgeoisie attributed to nature; in particular, fresh air and sea water were believed to have numerous health benefits.[16] These basic characteristics connected to the appearance of *villégiature* can be easily transferred to and are apparent in the situation in Quebec during the nineteenth century.

Interest in *villégiature* among Quebec historians began to emerge during the 1980s when some detailed studies and a number of articles were published.[17] Attention to this subject appears to have dropped off somewhat throughout much of the 1990s, but re-emerged in the early 2000s. Among the more extensive works on Quebec *villégiature* are Philippe Dubé's study of Charlevoix, originally published in 1986, and Bernard Genest's study of Lake Magog, published in 2003.[18] In addition to these, there have been a number of more generalized or less extensive research studies of the phenomenon.

Patterns of *villégiature* followed four guiding principles according to France Gagnon-Pratte. The location of a villa or country house should, first, be close to one's primary residence; second, be where the air and water are pure; third, be in a naturally beautiful location; and last, contain architectural elements that favour the landscape over the house.[19] Sir Frederick Haldimand's villa at Montmorency Falls, constructed in 1780, has been described as the first of this kind of secondary residence in Lower Canada.[20] Historians have identified three key regions for *villégiature* in Quebec: the Lower

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[16] Alain Corbin, *L'avènement des loisirs, 1850-1960,* (Paris: Champs/Flammarion, 1995), 59, 86-88.
[17] France Gagnon-Pratte, *Maisons de compagne des Montréalais, 1892-1924 : l'architecture des frères Maxwell*, (Montreal: Éditions du Méridien, 1987); France Gagnon-Pratte and Philippe Dubé, "La Villa," *Continuité*, 40 (1988): 22-25; and Marcel Samson, "La route des villégiateurs," *Continuité*, no. 40 (1988): 12-15.
[18] Philippe Dubé, *Charlevoix: Two Centuries at Murray Bay*, trans. Tony Martin-Sperry, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Bernard Genest, *Une saison au bord de l'eau : Lac Magog, un site de villégiature dans les Cantons-de-l'Est*, (Sherbrooke, Que.: Éditions GGC, 2003).
[19] Michel Lessard and Gaston Cadrin refer to the principles described by Gagnon-Pratte in their article "Les sentiers," 11.
[20] Gagnon-Pratte and Dubé, "La Villa," 23.

St. Lawrence, Eastern Townships and Laurentians-Lanaudière regions.[21] These regions emerged as destinations for summer vacationers in the 1850s and 1860s and continued to develop throughout the nineteenth century. Charlevoix, the Lower South Shore of the St. Lawrence and Lake Memphremagog, in the Eastern Townships, are frequently labelled as the oldest locations for *villégiature*.

Historians have repeatedly found that, in all regions, the first phase of *villégiature* is strongly connected to the expansion of steam transportation networks. Along the North and South Shores of the Lower St. Lawrence several *villégiature* communities, such as Tadoussac, Murray Bay and Cacouna, emerged in correlation to the beginning of steamboat service in 1853. A similar pattern linked to railway expansion has been identified in the development of *villégiature* communities in the Laurentians around 1856.[22] While Eastern Townships *villégiature* is strongly linked to railway expansion and the construction of the Victoria Bridge between Montreal and the South Shore in 1859, Lake Memphremagog, remained without rail service until the 1870s. Despite this obstacle, Montreal families made the annual trip by train to Waterloo, from where they travelled by stagecoach to Magog and, finally, by steamboat from Magog to their residences.[23]

Two specific studies by Quebec historians have informed my research considerably. The first being that of Michèle Dagenais, who wrote "Fuir la ville: *villégiature* et *villégiateurs* dans la région de Montréal, 1890-1940", and the second being that of

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[21] Samson,"La route des villégiateurs," 13-14.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Authors such as Genest, in *Une saison au bord de l'eau,* and Robin Renaud, in "Un charmant paradis d'été de l'aristocratie herbrookoise: le Petit lac Magog de 1892 à 1917," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, 25 (2004): 79-105, have outlined the importance of the railway development of Eastern Townships *villégiature*. J. Derek Booth's Volume I and Volume II of his series *Railways of Southern Quebec*, (Toronto: Railfare Books Limited, 1982), provide valuable details on railway development in Quebec.

Caroline Aubin-des Roches and her article titled "Retrouver la ville à la campagne."[24] In Dagenais' examination of *villégiature* in Quebec, she uses the construction of secondary residences to illuminate the residents' connection with nature. She maintains that the growth of the phenomenon was sparked by the intense changes linked to urbanization and industrialization and the challenge they presented to Montreal elites. According to the author, the nineteenth century is marked by a rediscovery of nature as a result of these changes. During this period, nature was presented as a paradise, a place for rejuvenation and freedom. Although she identifies industrialization as the chief instigator in this rediscovery of nature, much of Dagenais' discourse on perceptions of nature suggests that they were also strongly influenced by romanticism.

Aubin-des Roches' article presents the growth of *villégiature* in much the same way. She also maintains that it was industrialization and urbanization that fed the desire to escape the city in search of nature. Through her research, she finds that modern life is presented as a prison and *villégiature*, the freedom to escape. However beyond this, she also concludes that, despite their attempt to escape urban life and the modern city, many *villégiateurs* recreated aspects of city life during their retreats to nature. The findings drawn from both of these Quebec studies are particularly significant because their theoretical approaches are easily and effectively transferable to my own research. Many of the early Lake Memphremagog estate owners were from Montreal and their actions and attitudes towards nature frequently reflect many of the same concepts identified by Dagenais and Aubin-des Roches.

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[24] Dagenais, "Fuir la ville," 316-345; Aubin-des Roches, "Retrouver la ville," 17-31. Incidentally, Dagenais supervised Aubin-des Roches' research.

A final commonly identified characteristic of *villégiature* is the creation of unique summer communities in each *villégiature* destination. Authors, such as Renaud and Samson have described these communities with terms such as "socially homogeneous" and "closed" summer societies, suggesting rather rigidly defined interactions between the summer residents and the permanent local residents.[25] However, not all authors describe them in such black-and-white terms. While most have found that *villégiateurs* seemed to create mini-communities over the summer, the particular characteristics of these communities appear to vary from one to another and findings are often not transferable. A community's unique characteristics were frequently dependent on the social and geographical origins of its *villégiateurs*. For example, findings from the Murray Bay community, which received upper-class American families, cannot be applied successfully to communities such as Little Lake Magog, a destination for the upper middle-class francophone families of Sherbrooke.[26]

1.3 Architecture, landscape architecture and country houses, 1860-1900

Having identified *villégiature* during the nineteenth century as a largely upper-class pursuit, we should preface this part of the discussion by noting that Quebec historians studying Montreal elite families have emphasized that the upper class viewed their houses and their architectural styles as status symbols.[27] It is not surprising,

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[25] Renaud, "Un charmant paradis," 83; and Samson, "La route des villégiateurs," 13.

[26] Dubé's study of Charlevoix indicates that the Murray Bay community was largely composed of upper-class Anglophones who travelled long distances, such as from Montreal, Toronto or the U.S., and built impressive villas on large properties (1990, 94-107). Whereas Genest's study of Little Lake Magog indicates that the community was largely composed of middle-class Francophones who came from relatively short distances, such as Sherbrooke, and built modest cottages (2003, 28-9).

[27] The works of François Rémillard and Brian Merrett, *Demeures bourgeoises de Montréal: Le Mille Carré Doré, 1850-1930*, (Montreal: Éditions du Méridien, 1986); Roderick MacLeod "Salubrious Settings," and

therefore, that the particular relationship between the architecture of country houses and *villégiature* has been studied by numerous historians examining this period. The same cultural influences which explain the growing popularity of *villégiature* also influenced the *villégiateurs*' taste in architectural and landscaping styles. The significance of the architectural styles of country houses was first explored in Mark Girouard's 1978 book, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*. In his examination of country-house architecture, Girouard describes country houses as status symbols for the wealthy. Thus, the architecture of these houses were carefully designed to represent privileged status through the use of architectural styles, such as Gothic, Tudor and Elizabethan, which were meant to evoke the manor houses of England's past land-owning aristocracy. However, in his study, Girouard detected a shift in architectural styles at the turn of the twentieth century. He found that a "new breed" of country house owners emerged who "seldom produce[d] anything creatively new or even convincingly traditional."[28]

Despite this somewhat pessimistic evaluation of the later English country-house architecture, historians exploring North American trends have supplied us with some alternate conclusions. It was not until the late 1980s, almost a full decade after Girouard's study was published, that historians began to seriously examine the architecture of country houses on this side of the Atlantic. The works of France Gagnon-Pratte and Philippe Dubé, in both collaborative and individual studies, have contributed substantially to the historiography of country houses in Canada and, in particular,

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Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal*, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987) explore the significance of architecture for the Montreal elite families of the nineteenth century.

[28] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country*, 270-272, 302-318; quote 318. Girouard uses a similar methodological approach in *Life in the French Country House*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000).

Quebec. In 1987, Gagnon-Pratte's publication on the country houses of Montrealers was among the first studies to take a detailed look at the architecture of country houses in Quebec and New Brunswick.[29] However, her research was limited to the country houses designed by the prominent Montreal architects, Edward and William Maxwell. As a result, the range of social statuses of the clientèle and the range of architectural styles are somewhat restricted. Nonetheless, her work clearly illustrates some of the styles significant to country-house architecture and, more importantly, outlines the importance of architecture for *villégiature* at the turn of the century. Dubé's substantial work on Charlevoix deals with a broad range of questions, including a full section dedicated to the architecture of the country houses constructed there. He finds that Charlevoix *villégiature* had rather humble architectural beginnings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when summer residents renovated properties in a way that attempted to stay true to the architecture of the region. As time progressed, however, the architecture increasingly reflected principles found in romanticism.[30]

American historian Mark Hewitt completed a notable examination of architecture and the American country house which included a number of interesting observations. He goes beyond simply connecting architectural styles and their representations of status to examine the subtle nuances and variations. Included in his analysis is the identification of what he calls a 'country place movement' at the turn of the twentieth century, used to describe the growing inclination of the moderately wealthy to construct pastoral retreats on smaller estates in an effort to emulate the English gentleman.[31]

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[29] Gagnon-Pratte, *Maisons de compagne.*
[30] Dubé, *Charlevoix*, 169-176, 203-236.
[31] Mark Alan Hewitt, *The Architect and the American Country House, 1890-1940*, (New Haven, Mass.: Yale University Press, 1990).

Hewitt's description of the 'country place' movement in the United States is a trend that most closely relates to the characteristics of Lake Memphremagog country houses, making his work important in the analysis of my own research.

As mentioned above, a growing appreciation for nature was an integral part of *villégiature* in the nineteenth century. The historians that have studied country houses have stressed the fact that while *villégiateurs* idealized nature they also sought to control nature through varying degrees of landscape architecture. Dubé expresses this well in *Charlevoix* when he states "[p]ar cette communion avec la nature, le villégiateur fait peu à peu l'expérience du paysage qu'il veut à son tour architecturer".[32] Authors such as Norman Newton and Elizabeth Barlow Rogers examine the emergence of landscape design as an important industry and consideration for well-to-do land owners at the end of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century.[33] Again, these authors have found that status-consciousness was among the most prominent factors in the emergence of landscaping and in the evolution of landscaping styles. It is also worthy to note the majority of authors examining country-house architecture usually comment on the important role of popular contemporary manuals on the architecture of county houses and landscaping. In general, historians describe the role of such works in the promotion of certain particular architectural styles. Contemporary manuals, such as A. J. Downing's *The Architecture of Country Houses*, strongly influenced the representations of country houses.[34] They sought to convince readers that country houses should not appear

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[32] Dubé, *Deux cents ans de villégiature dans Charlevoix: l'histoire du pays visité,* (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1986), 236.
[33] Elizabeth Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design: A Cultural and Architectural History*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001) and Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1971).
[34] A. J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses: Including Designs for cottages, farm-houses and villas,* (1850, reprint, Ottawa: Algrove Publishing, 2002).

pretentious and they emphasized the importance of careful consideration in choosing landscaping and architectural styles.[35]

Overall, it has been shown that architecture varied widely according to geographic region. Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that the subject of the architectural and landscaping styles used for country houses and summer estates is an interesting field of study since it offers a perspective on the nineteenth-century ideas about leisure, relaxation and the perception of nature. However, since the early 1990s, there have been only a few substantial studies carried out on country-house architecture in Quebec and there remains a gap in the literature. There is a lack, for instance, of in-depth studies of the architectural trends present in smaller scale *villégiature* destinations. Through this thesis, I intend to contribute a new perspective to the historiography on the architecture of *villégiature* by focusing on a less predominant Quebec destination.

1.4 Sources and research methodology

For this study, I have made use of a variety of sources to explore the characteristics of the *villégiature* community around Lake Memphremagog. Each of the key sources I have consulted has their own strengths and limits, which will be explored below.

Regional newspapers were used a great deal in the research for this study. The principal newspaper relevant to the Lake Memphremagog area was the *Stanstead Journal,* which was a weekly newspaper published in the town of Stanstead, located not

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[35] Certain contemporary authors on architecture and landscaping that recur among historians are Andrew Jackson Downing, André Parmentier and William Kent. Analysis of the significance of the works of these historical figures can be found in Rogers, *Landscape Design*; Newton, *Design on the Land*; and Gagnon-Pratte and Dubé, "La villa".

far from the lake. It was founded in 1845 and is the oldest, continuously published newspaper in the Eastern Townships. For the *Stanstead Journal*, I went through all available newspapers from 1860 to 1920, looking through each issue for references to the lake and to all summer visitors. I used other newspapers, including the *Sherbrooke Examiner,* the *Sherbrooke Telegraph*, the *Sherbrooke Daily Record* and the *Waterloo Advertiser* when looking for information on specific events to compliment the information already found.

The newspapers were among the most valuable sources of information for this study because they covered the entire period of interest, from 1860 to 1920, and are particularly useful for their many details on the presence of summer visitors as well as for references to their activities. In particular, much of the information appeared in the form of social notes. While they are helpful because they include information about the more mundane parts of people's lives, social notes present a somewhat limited and biased perspective. Being written from the perspective of one individual – the correspondent – it is likely that the content may have focused on the activities of particular individuals while excluding others and they were not likely to have included negative opinions. Rather than focusing on the information not appearing in social notes, much of this analysis finds value in the information they did include. A correspondent may not have written overtly negative comments about individuals, but it is reasonable to conclude that positive comments were generally genuine. Taking this into consideration, newspaper articles remain an important component of my sources.

The second most significant source used in this analysis is the diaries of Edythe M. Routledge. Edythe, daughter of Sir Hugh Allan, lived at *Belmere* from the mid-1890s

until her death in 1946. Edythe's personal diaries from 1896 and from 1905 to 1946 have survived to the present day, recording her daily activities.[36] Since the topic of this thesis is *villégiature* and is primarily a summer phenomenon in Canada, I focused on the summer months, from June to September, during my research. Edythe's diaries are useful for their depiction of the everyday activities of a *villégiateur* family. Although Edythe was a permanent resident at *Belmere* for the period covered by her diaries, her interactions during the summer were largely limited to other *villégiateurs,* which indicates that she remained very much a part of the summer community on Lake Memphremagog. The most notable limitation of Edythe's diaries is that they contain very little emotion and limited description. Her entries are mostly note form, briefly recording the activities of the day, the work performed by her employees and listing her visitors, sometimes including unique or special happenings, such as if her children or horses were sick, etc. While it is unfortunate that her diaries do not give us much of a perspective on her personal reactions to events, they provide an invaluable window onto the activities and the social sphere of upper-class *villégiateurs* on Lake Memphremagog.

Furthermore, Edythe's diaries also played a significant role in the identification of an end to the period under study here. Her entries, which cover the early twentieth century, supply the majority of the information on the day-to-day activities of *villégiateurs*. Consequently, this examination includes the early years of the twentieth century to allow for a better representation of the social sphere of *villégiateurs.* It

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[36] It is not known why there are no diaries from 1897 to 1904 when Edythe appears to have otherwise been a faithful diary-keeper. I would suggest that Edythe did keep diaries through those years and that she or her son may have destroyed them at a later time. The years missing represent what appears to have been a difficult time in Edythe's life (her husband's sickness, possible alcoholism and subsequent suicide, followed by adjusting to life as a widowed mother of two boys) and it is not unreasonable to posit that they may have contained entries that were sensitive.

concludes in 1914, with the start of World War I, as it marks a shift in the nature of *villégiature* across the province.[37]

Other sources, such as photographs, travel diaries and correspondence have been used to supply further details on various points of interest in this analysis. For example, photographs provided necessary details on the architecture of the country estates while travel diaries provide insight into the way Lake Memphremagog was perceived by travellers and tourists. Lastly, land registers, church records and city directories constitute significant sources in this research. Land registers, which contain information on all land transactions in the province of Quebec, provided much-needed details when determining the location and size of the summer estate properties as well as the dates when the properties were acquired. Church records and city directories were consulted to ascertain dates for births, marriages and deaths as well as to shed light on professional ties among Montrealers when other sources were lacking. It is only by examining all of the above-mentioned sources that it is possible to form an accurate picture of the nature of the Montreal *villégiateurs'* presence on Lake Memphremagog.

1.5 Conclusion

Although the historiography of *villégiature* and the historiography of country houses often reflect distinct areas of study, they are relatively consistent in that they emphasize similar themes and concepts. Among the themes repeatedly identified as important and explored by the historians studying these subjects is the importance of romanticism in the development of *villégiature* as it greatly influenced the nineteenth-century 'rediscovery' of and profound admiration for nature. Not only was nature seen as

[37] More detail about the changing nature of *villégiature* is discussed briefly in the conclusion of this study.

a cultural and moral resource, nineteenth-century contemporaries were also convinced of the wide-ranging health benefits of the various components of nature, such as sea water and the fresh mountain air. The historiography of country-house architecture and landscaping also identifies these perceptions of nature as strong influential factors in the styles used for country houses. For some, upper-class country-house architecture and landscaping, paired with the influences of nature is the desire to use architecture as a representation of social class. The last common theme identified by the historiography of *villégiature* is the recreation of urban comforts in the country setting by upper-class *villégiateurs*.

Overall, however, there have been a limited number of detailed research studies on Quebec *villégiature* and although they provide important perspectives on this phenomenon as it developed in the province, there are some aspects that could be explored further to expand on the existing literature. In particular, the historiography is lacking more specific investigation of the activities pursued by *villégiateurs* while at their summer getaways and of the interactions between local and summer residents. Much of the existing research addresses this aspect with only a few brief sentences or paragraphs. Furthermore, despite the recurring themes in the above historiographies, it is also evident that each community of *villégiature* has unique characteristics which set it apart from the rest, as will be seen in the case of Lake Memphremagog.

CHAPTER II
NINETEENTH-CENTURY *VILLÉGIATURE* AND LAKE MEMPHREMAGOG

Nineteenth-century industrialization and urbanization brought with it a great deal of social, cultural and economic changes. While these changes were considered to be indications of the progress of civilization and the ingenuity of mankind, critics soon began to identify the substantial negative effects created by this 'progress'. As identified earlier, the emergence of *villégiature* was among the reactions to the new industrial machine. In order to better explore this relationship, the following chapter will outline the economic climate that lead to the emergence of *villégiature.* It will also describe the early development of *villégiature* in Quebec to provide further context to understand Lake Memphremagog as a tourist destination.

2.1 Economic, social and cultural influences on the development of *villégiature*

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the socio-economic make-up of the Western world changed rapidly as a result of urbanization and the transition to industrial capitalism. The first country to make the move from cottage industry and small-scale production to mechanized manufacturing was England, which experienced industrialization from 1760 to 1840.[1] Steam-powered locomotives set on rails were first used in the context of economic trade in England, thus adding to the momentum of industrialization, and were soon extended to the transportation of people. Steam-powered

[1] Robert Armstrong, *Structure and Change: an Economic History of Quebec,* (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1984), 190.

boats also began to transform the methods of trade in the early 1800s.[2] Somewhat later, the United States experienced industrialization between 1800 and 1860, which also saw a similar transformation in production and transportation.

2.1.1 Economic and social context

Quebec and Ontario would eventually come to experience these significant changes as well. However, they would not occur until the second half of the nineteenth century, later than their English and American counterparts.[3] The transition period began in the 1810s and, in general, men with capital to invest in new technologies were most able to profit from the phenomenon of industrialization. John Dickinson and Brian Young use the necessity of capital to explain why Quebec Anglophones were initially able to profit considerably more than Francophones during industrialization. In short, Anglophones were better able to amass significant investment capital through transatlantic family and friend ties, which was not as readily accessible for many Francophone families.[4] From 1860 to 1870 alone, Montreal real estate values and the shipping volume going through its port doubled, the latter jumping from 470 201 total tonnage to 1 136 322.[5] On both sides of the Atlantic, the nineteenth century brought fundamental changes to the structure of work, to social relations and, "for those who were able to accumulate capital, the period was one of growing power and social privilege."[6]

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[2] Museum of American Heritage, "Dreams of Steam: The History of Steam Power," last modified March, 2005, http://www.moah.org/exhibits/archives/steam.html.
[3] Armstrong, *Structure and Change,* 190-1.
[4] John Dickinson and Brian Young, in *A Short History of Quebec,* 3rd ed., (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), provide a very good overview of the widespread changes to Quebec society during this period in Chapter 4, "Economy and Society in Transition, 1810-1880," 106-153.
[5] "Montreal: The Coming City of the North," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 27 June 1874, 401.
[6] Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec,* 108.

In England, industrialization lead to a new group of economically affluent families, which are sometimes referred to as the 'nouveau riche'. This new group sought a place among the old families of the landed upper class through the adoption of upper-class values and traditions, among which was the purchase of land and country houses.[7] The appearance of this new social arrangement occurred earliest in England, in relation to its industrialization. A similar trend later appeared in the United States and in Canada. This meant that the ensuing change to the social class system affected Canada at a later date than England and America. The Canadian families amassing significant fortunes began to set themselves apart from those less prosperous through various demonstrations of their new social position. Beyond a simple desire to flaunt their wealth and status, the upper class was significantly influenced by a few important artistic and cultural movements that became central to upper-class culture as well as to the phenomenon addressed in this analysis: *villégiature*.

2.1.2 Romanticism and upper-class culture

Despite the clear advantages to their great wealth, the ill side-effects of industrialization did not escape the perceptions of the upper class. As outlined above, the rapid industrialization of this period also contributed to over-population and the spread of contagious diseases in the cities, especially during the summer months. Likewise, the demands of industrialization forced rigid standards of productivity and self-control upon all workers. This resulted in the "systematic organization of life for maximum economic

[7] Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 268-70.

productivity and of individual life for maximum personal achievement".[8] For members of the upper-class, this included strict moral self-regulation and a high regard for material comfort. Predominant in the contemporary upper-class culture were strong religious and social values that bound families together, which – along with well-defined rules of etiquette – helped to delineate between members the upper class and outsiders.[9] In light of the rigid standards that guided their lives, it is not surprising that members of the upper class began to find ways to push against such a narrow definition of personal existence. For some members of the upper class, they found 'uncivilized' or 'authentic' experiences particularly fulfilling, such as trips into the rustic countryside to stay in camps or cabins, withholding all modern, material comforts from themselves. This emerging antimodernist movement of the mid-nineteenth century drew some members of the upper class away from the cities to the seaside or into the countryside.[10] However, many of those drawn away did not necessarily do so to escape all of their urban modern comforts.

As mentioned earlier, romanticism describes a new tendency most prevalent among the middle and upper classes to attribute high worth to feelings, imagination and emotions evoked by secular experience. Included within romantic thought were the ideas of the sublime and the picturesque, which were frequently used as descriptors during this period. The sublime referred to the quality in art, literature and natural phenomena that induced its audience into awe while the picturesque referred to a quality in landscape that

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[8] T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place for Grace*, 7. Authors discussing nineteenth-century antimodernism often cite the implementation of the time clock as one indication of rigid organization of life that occurred during industrialization. For further discussion of the significance of the industrialization's systematization of life and the concept of antimodernism, readers may also consult Rybcyznski's *Waiting for the Weekend* and Ian McKay's *The Quest of the Folk : Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

[9] Westley, *Remembrance of Grandeur*, 34.

[10] McKay, *The Quest of the Folk*, 30. Technologies considered 'modern comforts' included such things as running water and food preparation aids.

was visually attractive but lacked the profound emotional impact of the sublime.[11] It is possible to see the widespread effects of romanticism in the methods of interpretation throughout Western art, architecture, landscape, literature, etc. In particular, romanticism created a climate where wilderness and nature could be appreciated. As will be looked at later on, their sentimental attitude towards nature was nonetheless compatible with a paternalistic desire to control and dominate their natural surroundings through various means.[12]

The effects of industrialization and rapid urbanization contributed to a greater need to escape the confines of the city while romanticism gave them the framework for the appreciation of nature and the desire to seek it out. Although this movement was a key driving factor in the development of *villégiature* and tourism trends that emerged in North America in the nineteenth century, various technological advances – in transportation in particular – were also significant in their development.

2.1.3 Early locations of *villégiature*

The earliest Western European countries to experience industrialization and the expansion of transportation networks, such as England, were also the first to witness the development of *villégiature.* By the mid-1800s, tourism had become well-established in England among the bourgeois and labouring classes alike (though it was executed

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[11] Jasen, *Wild Things*, 7-9. William Cronon also defines the sublime through the powerful emotions it evoked but, in place of the picturesque, he identifies a 'domesticated sublime'. Similar to the definition other authors have given to the picturesque, Cronon describes domesticated sublime in writing that "the religious sentiments [wilderness] evoked were more those of a pleasant parish church than those of a grand cathedral [...]" (Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 75).

[12] Studies of nineteenth-century romantic interpretations of nature often highlight the dominance/appreciation relationship to nature; particular examples include Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 67, and Winter, *Secure from Rash Assault*, 5.

differently by each group).[13] The lake district and seaside resort towns were popular among the English. A number of these seaside towns, such as Herne Bay, were situated close enough to the industrialized cities to make day trips on excursion trains feasible for the lower-income earners. The upper-class *villégiateurs*, however, kept their distance from the lower social classes by building their villas in the peripheral areas of the resorts.[14] Similar resort areas also sprang up in France at the turn of the nineteenth century with seaside bathing towns, which were appreciated for the believed therapeutic effects of the saltwater and sea air. As with many *villégiature* locations, bathing holidays to the seaside became family affairs where they would reunite with old friends each year.[15]

While the development of *villégiature* came later in Quebec and Ontario, it was not long before it was taken up by the upper class with great fervour and a number of distinct destinations had been established by the latter half of the nineteenth century. Among the earliest *villégiature* destinations to emerge in Quebec was the Lower St. Lawerence region. It was made accessible to Montrealers by passenger steam ferries in 1853 and by railway in 1860. Riverside villages such as Tadoussac, Métis-sur-Mer, Cacouna and Murray Bay developed as summer vacation towns for wealthy Québecois families and were frequented by wealthy Americans as well. Catering to another type of *villégiateur,* the Laurentians-Lanaudière region emerged in the mid-1850s to eventually become a fashionable spot for hunting clubs and fishing.[16]

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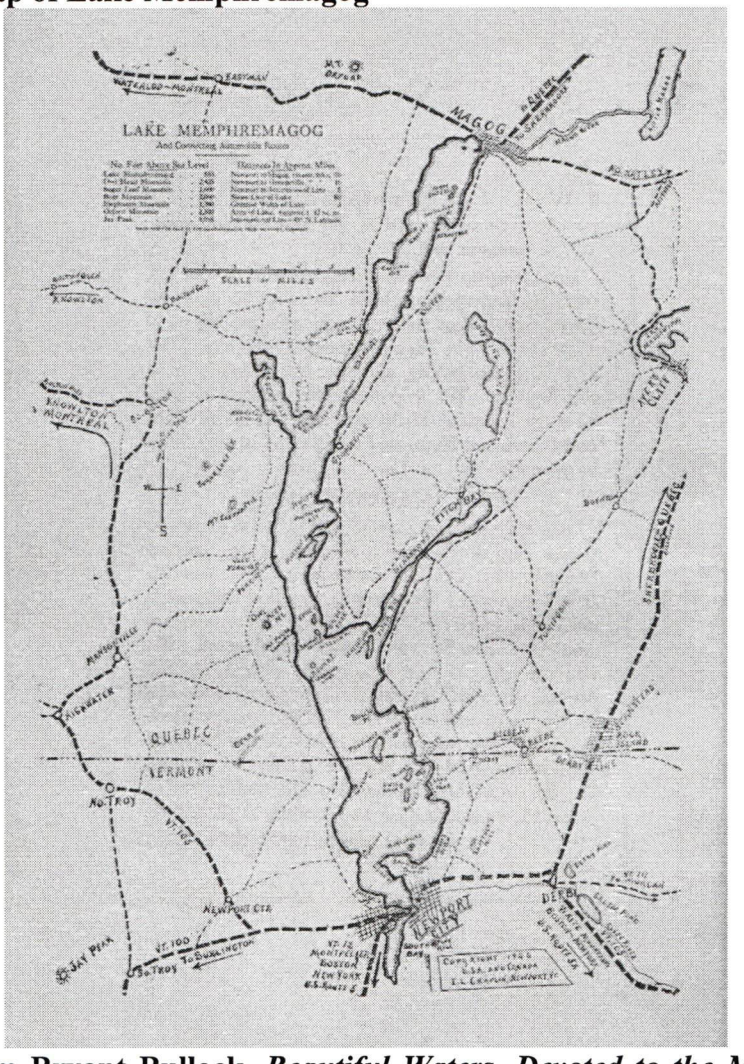
[13] Winter, *Secure from Rash Assault,* 211-2.
[14] Ibid., 215-8.
[15] Corbin, *L'avènement des loisirs*, 86-8.
[16] Samson, "La route des villégiatures," 13.

The third significant nineteenth-century region for *villégiature* in Quebec was the Eastern Townships. Without the progress in transportation methods during the early nineteenth century, *villégiature* would not have been able to develop in the Eastern Townships and other locations as rapidly as it did. More specifically, the development of the province's railway networks was aided by the completion of the Victoria Bridge in December 1859, which spanned the St. Lawerence River and connected Montreal to the South Shore by rail. Following this, railroads – notably by the Grand Trunk Railway – were quickly stretched through significant portions of southern Quebec.[17] This expansion included a railway line to Waterloo, which allowed for easier access to the Townships. The developments in transportation, coupled with the area's mountains, rolling hills, numerous lakes and quaint farmland made the region very appealing to wealthy Montrealers searching for a relaxing summer destination. In particular, many were drawn to the shores of Lake Memphremagog and a little village on its eastern shore, called Georgeville.

[17] Booth, *Railways*, vol. 1, 96-8.

Figure 2.1 – Map of Lake Memphremagog



Source: William Bryant Bullock, *Beautiful Waters, Devoted to the Memphremagog Region*, vol. 1, (Newport, VT: Memphremagog Press, 1926).

2.2 Romantic Lake Memphremagog

2.2.1 Georgeville before 1860

Even before the attractive lake and mountain scenery began drawing Montrealers to Georgeville and the shores of Lake Memphremagog during the summers, Georgeville was establishing itself as an important through-town of the southern Eastern Townships. Georgeville is located on the eastern shore of Lake Memphremagog, almost halfway between the American border and Magog, a town situated at the outlet of the lake. Lake

Memphremagog, itself, is the largest lake in the Eastern Townships and stretches 48 kilometres long; approximately one-third lying in the United States and two-thirds in Canada. The western shore is largely dominated by mountains, such as Owl's Head Mountain, while rolling hills make up much of the eastern shore. Bordering Lake Memphremagog to the east, and including Georgeville, is Stanstead Township, which is one of the four original townships of Stanstead County. The township of Stanstead was first surveyed for the Crown in 1795 by Jesse Pennoyer and Joseph Kilborn.[18] In 1800, the first lots were officially granted to petitioners, even though a few immigrants, mostly from the United States, had begun to settle in the area as early as 1797.[19]

In 1815, Joseph Bouchette described Stanstead as possessing a "superiority over all the new townships on this frontier, both in the advantages of its locality, the excellence of its soil, and the quality of its timber."[20] These advantages over other regions of the Eastern Townships probably contributed significantly to the fact that by 1832, when many areas still went largely unsettled, Stanstead Township could boast of a commendable population of 3,371 inhabitants.[21] Beyond the agricultural value of the area, lots that bordered the lake had the added appeal of the availability of transportation by water. During this time in the Townships, when roads were most often only trails

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[18] W. S. Hunter, *Hunter's Eastern Townships Scenery, Canada East*, (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1860), 10.
[19] J. A. Davidson, *Copp's Ferry Georgeville, 1797-1977,* (s.l.: s.n., 1977), 1-2.
[20] Joseph Bouchette, *A topographical description of Lower Canada: with remarks upon Upper Canada and on the relative connexion of both provinces with the U.S.A.,* (London: W. Faden, 1815), 263-4. Joseph Bouchette was surveyor general for Lower Canada in the early 1800s and published a number of detailed maps and descriptions of Quebec (*Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online,* s.v. "Joseph Bouchette," by Claude Boudreau and Pierre Lépine, accessed 4 March 2012, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=3260).
[21] Joseph Bouchette, *A Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada,* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Green and Longman, 1832), "Stanstead Township"; the pages of this publication are unnumbered but it is organised alphabetically according to township.

through the wilderness and railways were non-existent, travel by boat was one of the most efficient modes of transportation.

Initially known as Copp's Ferry, Georgeville began with a single settler: Moses Copp. An American from Warren, Massachusetts, Copp was among Nicolas Austin's 45 associates who had secured Bolton Township, located on the western shore of Lake Memphremagog, and had come to Lower Canada in 1796. Perhaps realizing the value of lake navigation, a year later, in 1797, Copp and his family made the move across the Memphremagog where he settled at the centre of what is now Georgeville. Here, he established the lake's first ferry: a man-powered scow large enough to transport livestock, goods and people between Austin Bay, on the western shore, and the eastern shore.[22] In 1825, the village was renamed Georgeville. During the 1820s, Copp's man-powered ferry was replaced by a horse-powered boat, which was capable of carrying larger loads than its predecessor, and finally a steam-powered ferry – the *Mountain Maid* – made a very welcomed appearance on the lake in 1850.[23]

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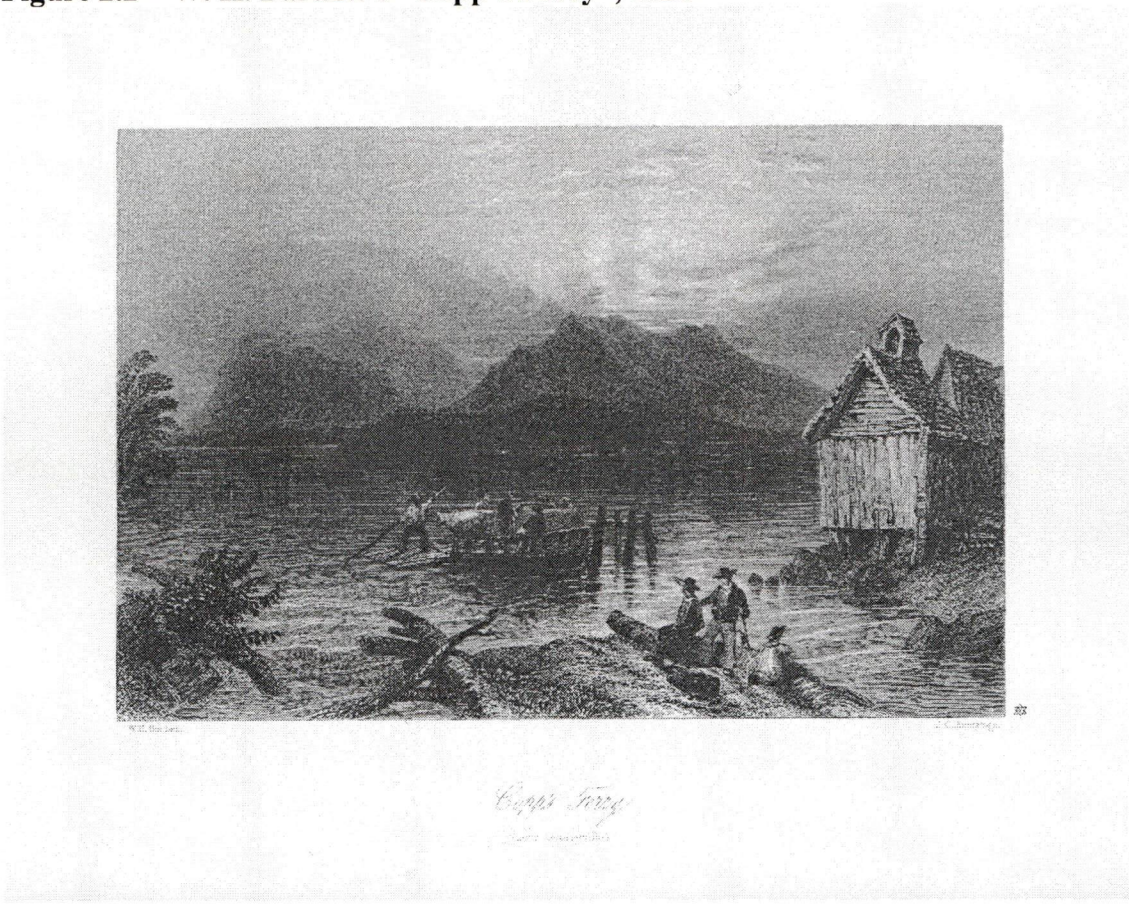
[22] William Bryant Bullock, *Beautiful Waters, Devoted to the Memphremagog Region*, vol. 1, (Newport, VT: Memphremagog Press, 1926), 23. B. F. Hubbard, *in Forests and Clearings: The history of Stanstead County, Province of Quebec, with sketches of more than five hundred families*, (Montreal: Lovell, 1874), provides similar details on the settling of Georgeville and the information is corroborated in other sources compiled by descendents of the early Georgeville families, which argues strongly in favour of its accuracy.

[23] Bullock, *Beautiful Waters*, vol. 1, 24-26. Bullock describes the launching of the *Mountain Maid*, originally christened the *Jenny Lind*, in his first volume, writing "[p]robably the greatest day that Georgeville ever saw was the launching of the 'Mountain Maid,' the first steamboat on the lake. Settlers from miles around gathered in crowds to celebrate the event."

Figure 2.2 – W. H. Bartlett's "Copp's Ferry", 1838



Source: N. P. Willis, *Canadian Scenery Illustrated, from drawings by W. H. Bartlett,* vol. I, (1842, reprint, London: Peter Martin Associates, 1967), 65.

During the early 1800s, Georgeville continued to grow steadily as more families settled there, establishing farms and various industries, and was the largest village on the lake. Early settlers, such as Joshua Copp, son of Moses Copp, started pearlash factories (seen above in William Henry Bartlett's famous engraving, titled "Copp's Ferry") and established a general store of sorts. Built up by enterprising businessmen and farmers, the settlement soon asserted itself as a village with all of the necessary trades, such as blacksmiths, tailors, mechanics and a doctor. At this time, Georgeville was ideally situated to receive customers from the west side of the lake, via the ferry, as well as from

parts of Stanstead and prospered as a result.[24] However, unlike Magog, Georgeville did not possess the hydrography necessary for harnessing water energy, which placed it at a severe disadvantage for industrial development. Furthermore, as railway networks grew, Georgeville would be bypassed for any direct railway service and, instead, other areas of the countryside would be opened up. These factors meant that much of the village's original business was diverted to other villages in the region so much so that B. F. Hubbard described Georgeville as having "remained stationary" for several years and, by 1874, 'Magog Outlet' had more than double the population of Georgeville.[25]

Therefore, prior to 1860 and the commencement of the arrival of significant numbers of summer visitors, Georgeville was predominantly a small agricultural village, surrounded by substantial forests, marked with considerable rolling fields. Along with the undeniable natural beauty of Lake Memphremagog, these vernacular characteristics of the landscape played a significant part in the choice of Georgeville as a summer vacation destination. These attractive characteristics of the region are clearly evident in the travel literature and iconography of Lake Memphremagog and the Eastern Townships that was produced during the 1800s.

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[24] Bullock, *Beautiful Waters,* vol. 1, 28.
[25] Hubbard, *Forests and Clearings,* 45.

Figure 2.3 – W. H. Bartlett's "View Over Lake Memphremagog", 1838

Source: N. P. Willis, *Canadian Scenery Illustrated, from drawings by W. H. Bartlett,* Vol. II, (1842, reprint, London: Peter Martin Associates, 1967), 30.

2.2.2 Travel literature and iconography of the Eastern Townships

The first publication showcasing images of the Eastern Townships to become widely available was N. P. Willis' *Canadian Scenery Illustrated*, which appeared in two volumes in the 1840s. Along with a general topographical and population description, the volumes include engravings by William Henry Bartlett (1809-1854). Although Bartlett's artistic career was relatively brief, he was a noted traveller, a highly skilled landscape artist and visited Canada a number of times between 1836 and 1852. He recorded his visits through numerous drawings and his travels help to inform his written

works.[26] In particular, his drawings of the Lake Memphremagog region remain some of the most familiar historical images of this area.[27] Not only are they impressive works of art, Bartlett's drawings of Lake Memphremagog portray many characteristics prominent within romantic thought. As described above, the growing nineteenth-century appreciation for nature and the wilderness flowed over into the landscape art created during this period, which commonly displayed elements of the picturesque and the sublime.[28] For the nineteenth-century upper class, landscape art was used as a symbol of political and social power and success. With the Romantic Movement, pieces that portrayed elements of the picturesque were among the more highly regarded artworks for the period.[29]

Not surprisingly, many of Bartlett's artworks featuring Lake Memphremagog display these qualities. Two engravings of Lake Memphremgog appear in Volume I of *Canadian Scenery* and another five engravings of the region appear in Volume II, both originally published in the 1840s.[30] The majority of these engravings employ artistic methods and symbols that have been identified in other landscape artworks considered picturesque from this period. In her study of changing landscape presentations in Charlevoix, Lynda Villeneuve highlights many of the characteristics commonly used in landscape artwork. For example, placing a few striking trees or grove in the foreground, with only a farm or other building in the distance, give the landscape a majestic quality

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[26] *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, s.v. "Bartlett, William Henry," by Alexander M. Ross, accessed 9 February 2012, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=3768.
[27] Two additional artworks by W. H. Bartlett depicting Lake Memphremagog can be seen in Appendix I.
[28] Lynda Villeneuve, *Paysage, mythe et territorialité: Charlevoix au XIXe siècle, pour une nouvelle approache du paysage*, (Sainte-Foy : Presses Unversité Laval, 1999), 60 and Jasen, *Wild Things*, 8.
[29] Villeneuve, *Paysage*, 77-8.
[30] N. P. Willis, *Canadian Scenery Illustrated, from drawings by W. H. Bartlett,* Vol. I & Vol. II, (1842, reprint, London: Peter Martin Associates, 1967). While there is some disagreement regarding the original publication date of these volumes, the most commonly agreed upon date is 1842.

accentuated by only small elements that indicate a human presence.[31] Figure 2.3, seen above, is a classic example of this approach. Moving into the 1860s and beyond, works depicting Lake Memphremagog and the Eastern Townships became increasingly plentiful.[32] Using a style similar to that of Bartlett, William S. Hunter's *Eastern Townships Scenery* contains engravings which exhibit elements of the picturesque.[33]

One of the well-known earlier travel diaries that includes qualitative, rather than quantitative, descriptions of the Eastern Townships is Anthony Trollope's *North America.*[34] Trollope describes his 1861 visit to Lower Canada in Chapter Four. During his time in Lower Canada, he traveled through parts of the Eastern Townships, including Sherbrooke, Magog, Georgeville, Lake Memphremagog and Lake Massawippi. Trollope and his travel companions, among whom was his wife, travelled from Sherbrooke to Magog by horse-drawn wagon and, from Magog, boarded the *Mountain Maid* to end at the Mountain House, a hotel at the foot of Owl's Head Mountain. Although not all of what Trollope wrote cast a positive light on the area, he was struck by the beauty of Lake Memphremagog.[35] Despite getting caught in a storm and becoming temporarily lost during a climb up Owl's Head, Trollope stated that "[t]he view down upon the lakes and the forests around, and on the wooded hills below, is wonderfully lovely. I was never on a mountain which gave me a more perfect command of all the country around." Notably,

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[31] Villeneuve, *Paysage*, 80.

[32] Additional nineteenth-century artworks depicting Lake Memphremagog include John A. Fraser's "Mount Elephantis and Owl's Head from across Lake Memphremagog", 1869, and Cornelius Krieghoff's "Owl's Head and Skinner's Cove, Lake Memphremagog", 1859.

[33] Hunter, *Hunter's Eastern Townships Scenery*.

[34] Anthony Trollope, *North America*, (New York: Harper, 1862). Another travel diary that includes descriptions of the Eastern Townships and Lake Memphremagog is Lady Dufferin's *My Canadian Journal, 1872-8: Extracts from my Letters Home Written While Lord Dufferin was Governor-General*, (London: John Murray, 1891).

[35] In a more unenthusiastic critique of the Mountain House, Trollope writes that "[t]he world there offers nothing else of active enterprise to the traveler, unless fishing be considered an active enterprise.", *North America*, 54

he also wrote that "the Massawhippi [sic] itself is not worth a visit."[36] Having been very well-traveled, Trollope's opinions would have borne much weight with readers.

Another type of travel literature published during nineteenth century was the travel 'handbook'. John Ross Dix published a handbook for Lake Memphremagog in 1864. In it, he touts the romantic qualities of the lake as he encourages the bored summer vacationer to bypass the regular destinations and consider the shores of Lake Memphremagog. He assures that neither "artist, hunter after the picturesque, seeker of health, gunner in search of game, angler for trout, [...], bold mountain-climber, strong-armed boatman [nor] lady wanderer" will be disappointed with what this region could offer to the traveler.[37] Henry Burt's *Illustrated Guide of the Connecticut Valley*, which included Lake Memphremagog, published in 1866, describes the scenery as "grand and inspiring, and the breezes from the lake are cool and refreshing" and notes that it had a "picturesque appearance".[38] Clearly, the promotional literature was intended to appeal to the romantic sensibilities of nineteenth-century *villégiateurs*.

Interestingly, many of the most well-known early works portraying Lake Memphremagog – both graphic and written – were composed by individuals from abroad rather than locals (a notable exception being Hunter). This suggests that Western Europeans and Americans developed an appreciation of the romantic and healthful elements of the Eastern Townships area earlier than natives of Canada. Moreover, these works would have initially been principally consumed by American audiences. This fact helps to explain why many of the emerging tourist destinations were largely frequented

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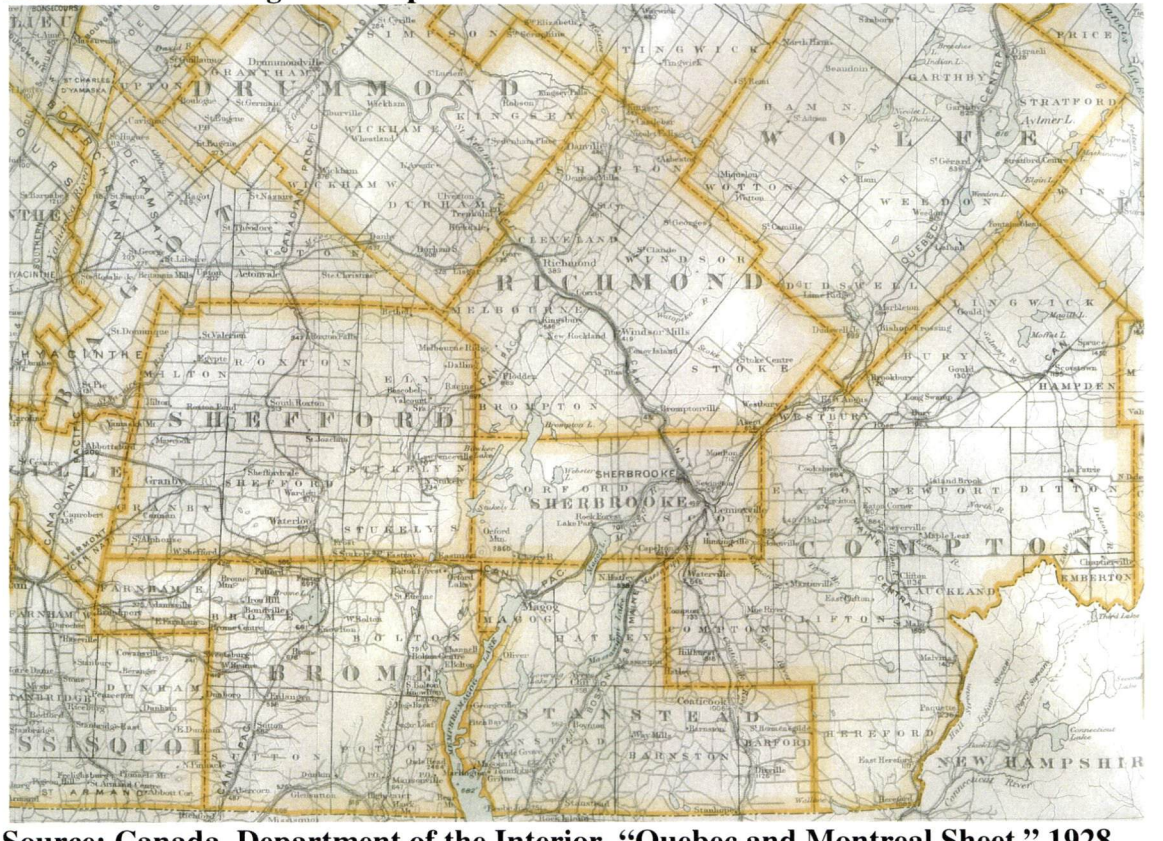
[36] Ibid., 55.
[37] John Ross Dix, *A Hand Book for Lake Memphremagog, with Route List,* (Boston: Evans & Co., 1864), 4.
[38] Henry M. Burt, *Burt's Illustrated Guide of the Connecticut Valley, containing descriptions of Mount Holyoke, Mount Mansfield, White Mountains, Lake Memphremagog, Lake Willoughby, Montreal, Quebec, etc.,* (Springfield: New England Publishing, 1866), 191, 193.

by Americans. As they were making their way North to enjoy the rolling farmland, sparkling lakes and mountain peaks, a small number of Montrealers had begun to realize the beauty of the region. Early in the period under review here, this minority was distinct from the other *villégiateurs* to Lake Memphremagog; the Montrealers frequently purchased property to erect country houses whereas the vast majority of other *villégiateurs* opted for other forms of accommodation, which will be explored below.

Figure 2.4 – Map of a portion of Southern Quebec, showing Lake Memphremagog and the surrounding Townships



Source: Canada, Department of the Interior, "Quebec and Montreal Sheet," 1928.

2.3 Various types of *villégiature*

Lake Memphremagog played host to *villégiateurs* and tourists from an array of socio-economic backgrounds. While a number of them chose to purchase property for summer estates in the area, many others opted instead for very different vacation

experiences. For those searching for something else, the lake offered its visitors the options of boarding houses, hotels and camping.

2.3.1 Boarding houses and hotels

Lake Memphremagog's importance as a trade route during the first part of the nineteenth century meant that small inns and boarding houses had existed for some time in the villages around the lake before the first hotels were established. However, the type of available accommodation began to change significantly with the increasing tourist interest in the Lake Memphremagog region. The Mountain House at the foot of Owl's Head became one of the most iconic nineteenth-century resort hotels of the lake. First completed in 1851, it was replaced in 1855 with a larger structure after a fire destroyed the original building.[39] Trollope describes his 1861 visit to the hotel by saying that it was "well kept and, on the whole [we] were more comfortable there than at any other inn in Lower Canada."[40] In an 1864 tourist handbook for Memphremagog, the Mountain House was described in attractive terms, as standing "in a natural Amphitheatre" with flower gardens, wooden boardwalks, a close-by bay and beach and "rural walks, and rocky pathways".[41] All of which would have certainly appealed to those searching for a romantic escape from the confines of their urban surroundings.

At the American end of the lake, the Memphremagog House was one of Newport's earliest and most well known resorts and, at the end of the nineteenth century, the town could boast of no fewer than three: the Memphremagog House, the Lake House and the

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[39] "Mountain House," *Stanstead Journal,* 17 July 1851 and J. I. Little, "Scenic Tourism on the Northeastern Borderland: Lake Memphremagog's Steamboat Excursions and Resort Hotels, 1850-1900," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 716-742.
[40] Trollope, *North America*, 53.
[41] Dix, *A Hand Book*, 23.

Park Hotel.[42] Likewise, Georgeville and the surrounding area was no stranger to the lucrative hotel business, though few of them were long-term successes. Among the hotels in Georgeville were the Memphremagog House, Hotel Elephantis and the Camperdown; the latter being one of best known.[43] Visitors could also choose from a selection of other hotels situated around the lake such as the Chateau Dasilva on the Western side of the lake and the Park House Hotel, Fairview Hotel and Union House in Magog.[44] For the most part, during the course of the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of the hotels offering tourists a place to relax came and went with either only a few years of service or intermittent service.[45]

Private boarding houses were another popular option for summer lodging. The towns and villages around Lake Memphremagog had permanent residents eager to benefit from the large numbers of summer visitors drawn to the region. Boarding houses appealed to those who perhaps were searching for a more 'authentic' or 'rustic' atmosphere and to those who could not find accommodation at the available hotels, whether for pricing or for availability reasons. In particular, there were a number of

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[42] Little, "Scenic Tourism," 733; "1897 Town Directory: Newport, Orleans Co., Vermont," last modified 24 April 2005, Vermont Northeast Kingdom Genealogy, http://www.nekg-vt.com/dir/dir_newport-1896-97.htm.

[43] *Lovell's Business, Professionals and Farmers' Directory of the Eastern Townships*, (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1898), 174. The *Canada Directory for 1857-8* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1857), 153, lists the Memphremagog House in Georgeville and Dix also mentions it as one of the two hotels situated in Georgeville in his *Hand Book for Lake Memphremagog*, 47. The Camperdown, originally Abraham Channell's Tavern Stand, was acquired and renamed by Thomas MacDuff in 1861 and then replaced with a larger structure in 1883 and was known as the New Camperdown ("Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 6 August 1883).

[44] Chateau Dasilva was built in 1875 by N. A. Beach, though financed by Mr. Codière, and renamed the Revere House in 1880. "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 5 August 1875; *Stanstead Journal,* 3 June 1880; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 9 June 1881; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 12 June 1890; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 30 July 1891.

[45] For further details on the inconsistent activity of Lake Memphremagog hotels, see Little, "Scenic Tourism", where he cites economic recessions and changes in railway routes as contributing factors to their short lifespan. He also notes that changing trends in tourism, such as the shift away from hotels in preference for camps and cabins meant that the attraction of Lake Memphremagog's resort hotels declined with time.

boarding houses available in Georgeville, some of which were the homes of local businessmen and others were farmhouses.[46] While some boarding houses were occupied by one or two families at a time, others were able to create a noteworthy business. William McGowan Jr.'s boarding house could accommodate more than twenty people at a time and one week during the summer of 1896, Dr. Keyes apparently had close to forty patrons.[47] In general, the correspondents' reports that appeared in the *Stanstead Journal* indicate that the boarding houses were well-patronized by summer visitors – Americans and Canadians, alike – during this time period.

2.3.2 Camping

Still, some *villégiateurs* preferred a closer commune with nature and forwent the comfortable accommodations of hotels and boarding houses in preference for camping. In the early years of the *villégiature* in Quebec, choosing to camp was a decision influenced by personal preference while later on it became popularized as an affordable way for middle-class families to enjoy a summer vacation. Of course, during the era under consideration here, camping was generally still limited to those with funds to travel and vacation time: the upper-middle class and upper class.

During the mid 1800s, camping out had become especially popular among American philosophers and nationalists. Beginning from the basic tenets of the Romantic Movement, they argued for the regenerative merits of nature as well as its aesthetic and inspirational qualities. Some even argued that God spoke most clearly through the

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[46] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 19 June 1884; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 28 July 1887; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 7 June 1900 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 14 May 1903.
[47] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 16 July 1886; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 6 August 1896 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 7 July 1898.

wilderness.[48] It is no surprise then, that some vacationers chose to camp even though they could afford more 'comfortable' accommodation.

Some of the early Memphremagog campers, and probably the most well-known of them all, were the Barrows family and company, of Boston, Massachusetts. Rev. Samuel J. Barrows and his wife, Isabel, recount their first decade as campers in their book *The Shaybacks in Camp,* using fictional names and highly-romanticized language to describe their experiences.[49] The Barrows, along with their Boston friends, first set up camp at Bedroom Point in 1878, located just north of Georgeville on the eastern shore of Lake Memphremagog. As the years went on, their camp eventually became "a village of tents", as described by one Georgeville observer.[50] Although they chose a more rustic form of vacationing than many *villégiateurs*, the Barrows had the affluence to purchase lakeside property – 115 acres – in 1889, after which they built log cabins to complement the tent living.[51]

Whether it was to camps, boarding house or hotels, it was not uncommon for the same families to return year after year to their preferred lodging place, some staying for a few weeks while others remained for the entire summer. Significantly, these returning summer visitors were largely from the United States, rather than Quebec or other parts of

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[48] Nash, *Wilderness*, 67-9, 88-9. For more information on the nineteenth-century philosophical argument for nature, see Schama, *Landscape and Memory*.

[49] Samuel J. Barrows and Isabel Barrows, *The Shaybacks in Camp: Ten Summers Under Canvas,* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1887). Reverend S. J. Barrows was the editor of the *Christian Register,* a Unitarian journal published out of Boston, Mass.

[50] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 30 August 1883.

[51] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 8 August 1889; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 22 August 1889; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 14 August 1890 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 9 July 1891.

Canada.[52] The one notable exception to this trend was among summer estate owners, who were principally Montrealers.

2.4 Conclusion

Around Lake Memphremagog in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, summer estate owners were a unique lot. In number, they formed a stark minority in comparison to other *villégiateurs* but the majority of them hailed from Montreal, which was the opposite of their camping and boarding counterparts. A small number of Montrealers began to build lakeside estates in the 1860s; they included Alexander Molson, Judge Charles Dewey Day, Henry Chapman and Sir Hugh Allan (who purchased and expanded on Henry Chapman's estate).[53] Generally, they kept the barns and animals but transformed the properties from basic farms into impressive villas, with manicured lawns and stately boathouses.

The early estate-owners of Lake Memphremagog present a distinct perspective on the trend of *villégiature.* Similar to the other *villégiateurs*, they came to the lake in search of a closer experience with nature and for healthful living. However, it was their execution of this desire – the creation of summer estates – that differed from the former. Rather than being relatively passive consumers of nature, they were directly interacting and transforming nature to suit their desires. Similarly, the social and business connections that brought them to the lakeshore were a significant part of their summer

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[52] From the summer reports published in the *Stanstead Journal*, the Lake Memphremagog region did steadily gain popularity among Canadians (from Montreal, other parts of Quebec, Ontario and Atlantic Canada) but it remained chiefly patronized by American until the end of the nineteenth century.

[53] Another early Montreal figure on Lake Memphremagog was Thomas MacDuff, manager of the Gilmour Lumber Company, who purchased a hotel and tavern in Georgeville. However, unlike the Montrealers listed above, MacDuff never owned a summer estate.

experiences. Essentially, they were recreating elements of their urban life during their sojourn to the country. Despite the notion that *villégiature* was an escape from the urban, industrial machine, an examination of the case of Lake Memphremagog indicates that it was never a full rejection of the new, industrialized society and that numerous elements were recreated in the country. These notions of recreation and rejection will be presented and explored in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III
GETTING THERE: HOW MONTREALERS FOUND THEIR WAY TO LAKE MEMPHREMAGOG

As introduced in the previous chapter, the mid-nineteenth century saw a number of prominent, upper-class families begin to call the Eastern Townships and Lake Memphremagog their summer home. The earliest to make a more permanent connection to the lake through the purchase of property were Montreal businessmen. Each year they escaped the city and made their way to lakeside properties for some well-deserved repose and by the 1870s, their summer houses had become undeniable parts of the scenery. This chapter will describe how the expansion of transportation networks in southern Quebec and the existence of key social and business relationships contributed to the development of Lake Memphremagog as a *villégiature* destination for Montrealers. Furthermore, because they are key actors throughout my thesis, I will also explore the biographies of some of the important Montreal families that called Lake Memphremagog "home" during the summer.

3.1 Migration to the lake

Over the May holiday weekend in 1867, Thomas MacDuff and Alexander Molson played host to a group of businessmen from Montreal. Starting out on Friday afternoon, they made the trip to Georgeville in ten hours. Once there, the men spent their time taking in the sights of the lake, which included a ferry trip down the lake to Newport in the *Nora*. A full account of their trip was published in the *Stanstead Journal*:

> Passing Georgeville, Mr. Murray's and Mr. Wood's houses and grounds with the Bush stretching to the Lake shore, were much admired. The grounds and princely residence of Mr. Allan, at

> Belmere, were next admired; then the steamer passed "Molson's Island" and made for Mr. Molson's pier where the whistle had summoned Mr. Molson, by whom the party were received and piloted over his productive garden with its acre of asparagus and thriving fruit trees – the extensive residence, barns, piggery, &c., &c.
>
> The steamer then proceeded past Judge Day's charming "Glenbrook" and the "Mountain House," under the frowning shadow of the "Owl's Head," and rounded the loveliest place on the Lake, "Magoon's Point," behind which the Lake runs three or four miles inward to Fitch Bay. Here the "Nora" took her new barge, the "Theresa," in tow, with a freight of 400 barrels of lime, manufactured at Magoon's Lime Kiln here, and proceeded to Newport somewhat retarded with a strong head wind and her extra load. The lovely scene and fresh air, however prevented all tedium, and the feats of muscular strength shown by the passengers kept up amusement till the steamer reached Newport, where after remaining some forty minutes, she again proceeded, and, freed from the heavy tow and with a good steam, ran the 16 miles in two hours and a quarter, reaching Georgeville after a pleasant trip.[1]

This newspaper excerpt is useful because it presents many of the characteristics of early Lake Memphremagog *villégiature* that made it unique. The earlier section, unquoted, describes the long journey from Montreal to Georgeville, which was made easier with railway access to Waterloo but, nonetheless, it necessitated rail, stagecoach and steamboat transportation to reach their destination. Furthermore, all but one of the estates named in the article were owned by Montrealers.[2] More significantly, it also demonstrates that the level of tourism remained limited, as is indicated by the fact that the *Nora* ran commercial freight at the same time as transporting tourist passengers. Overall, it paints an image of a region that was largely rural and, though a minority in number, Montreal businessmen were the highlight of Lake Memphremagog *villégiature*.

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[1] "Notes of a Trip from Montreal to Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal,* June 6, 1867.

[2] The article makes reference to "Mr. Wood's" house; Mr. Wood was William N. Wood. He was an English bachelor who purchased property on Lake Memphremagog but, unlike the *villégiateurs,* it was always intended to be his permanent residence. Mr. Wood sold his estate, *Woodlands*, to Robert Lindsay in the 1870s (John Scott, "A Briefing Paper on the nineteenth Century Summer Retreats on Lake Memphremagog," unpublished, 2006, 15-6).

3.1.1 Getting to Georgeville

Advances in the transportation networks through southern Quebec had made travel notably easier into the latter part of the nineteenth century, making the Townships a realistic destination for the summer sojourn. Two developments, in particular, greatly eased the journey from Montreal to the eastern shore of Lake Memphremagog.

The first was the completion of the Victoria Bridge late in 1859, which connected the island of Montreal to the South Shore. The Victoria Bridge was officially inaugurated in the summer of 1860 by Prince Albert Edward but commercial and passenger trains had made the first trips across it December 1859.[3] Until its construction, goods and people were required to cross the St. Lawrence by boat during the summer months. From the fall freeze to the spring thaw, and the winter months in between, passage was often hampered, if not made impossible, by inclement weather or dangerous ice conditions.[4]

The second was the construction of the Stanstead, Shefford and Chambly Railroad (SS&C), which connected the western portion of the Eastern Townships to the Grand Trunk Railway at St. Johns (now named St-Jean-sur-Richelieu). The section of the SS&C tracks stretching from St. Johns to West Farnham was completed at the end of 1858. The line was then extended to Waterloo and, after official inspection, it opened in November 1861. The men who had proposed the SS&C had set out ambitious plans to construct the line to Magog and Stanstead but the company ran out funds and the extension was not realized for another decade.[5] Those traveling from Montreal were not

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[3] Stanley Triggs and others, *Le Pont Victoria: Un lien vital – Victoria Bridge: The Vital Link,* (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992), 67, 75-7.
[4] Ibid., 19.
[5] Booth, *Railways,* vol. 1, 19-26.

able to reach Lake Memphremagog by Newport or Magog by train for at least another decade.[6] Nonetheless, the construction of the Victoria Bridge and the railways to Waterloo and Sherbrooke were sufficient to persuade Montrealers to make Lake Memphremagog their summer refuge in the early 1860s.

Before railway service was extended, travelers had to take a stagecoach from Waterloo to Knowlton's Landing, on Lake Memphremagog, or from Sherbrooke to Magog. From Knowlton's Landing and Magog, they could take one of a number of steam ferries across the lake to their destination. As was detailed in the *Stanstead Journal* article quoted above, the entire trip was about ten hours in total and varied with weather and by season. In all aspects, it was neither a direct trip nor a quick one. The article details the trip of a group of grown men so one can imagine that it would only be complicated when children, servants and a summer's worth of luggage were added to the equation. The article is concluded with the writer asserting that "the next time they visited Lake Memphremagog their sweethearts, spouses and youngsters must accompany them, to verify their accounts of the glorious scenery and healthful atmosphere of this the loveliest Lake in the " 'New Dominion' ".[7]

Americans, on the other hand, acquired direct rail access to Newport, at the head of the lake, by 1863 via the Connecticut & Passumpsic Railroad.[8] Not surprisingly, Lake Memphremagog was more popular among southern vacationers than Canadian ones in the mid-nineteenth century as a result of this facilitated access. Even though in the 1860s the Canadian trip to the lake could be considered not for the faint of heart, it was clearly

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[6] Ibid., Chapter Two, 56-100.
[7] "Notes of a Trip from Montreal to Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal,* 6 June 1867.
[8] Hamilton Child, comp., *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Lamoille and Orleans Counties, Vt., for 1883-84*, (Syracuse, N.Y.: Hamilton Child, 1883), 181.

worth the effort for a handful of Montrealers. Into the 1870s, the trip was greatly simplified by railway access from Montreal to Newport via either the South Eastern Railway in 1873 or by way of Sherbrooke via the Massawippi Valley Railway in 1870. In 1876, Canadian vacationers had rail access to Magog with the completion of the Waterloo & Magog Railway to the outlet of Lake Memphremagog. With the extension of rail service to the shores of the lake, Montreal vacationers could easily make the trip in less than a day with train changes in Waterloo and St. Johns. Furthermore, eliminating the necessity of a stagecoach permitted families to bring as much baggage and supplies as they required with relative ease. Finally, when the Canadian Pacific Railway reached Magog in 1888, Montrealers had direct, daily, year-round access to Lake Memphremagog. [9] Contributing further to the increased ease of travel, the schedules of the steam ferries on the lake were adjusted to connect with the arrival and departure times of the trains.[10] Facilitated access over the latter part of the nineteenth century effectively changed the tourism industry on the lake, allowing an increasing number of *villégiateurs* to choose Lake Memphremagog's shores as their summer destination.

3.1.1 Early Montrealers at Lake Memphremagog and Georgeville

The early Montreal *villégiateurs* were in familiar company while at their country houses. Their social and business connections were abundant and played a role in the decision to summer at Lake Memphremagog. During the mid-1800s, the travel literature on the region was still relatively limited and, thus, knowledge of the lake and its beauty would have been spread largely through word of mouth within the social circles of

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[9] Booth, *Railways,* vol. 2, 57-63. Further information regarding the length of train travel between Montreal and Lake Memphremagog was obtained directly from Derek Booth, through email correspondence.
[10] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 25 June 1885.

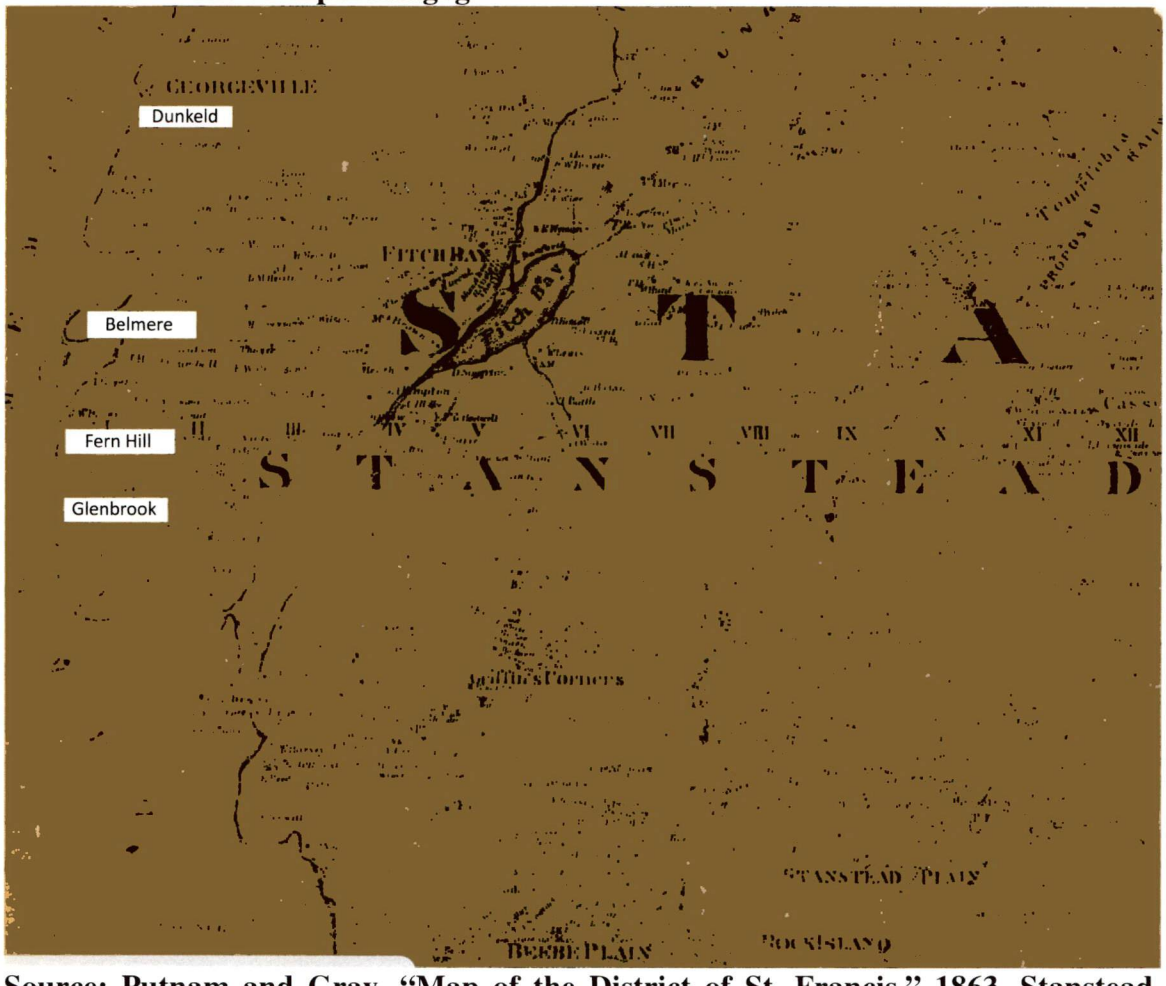
Montreal's small elite class.[11] They were set apart from the rest of Montreal's social classes both economically and geographically, many living in the area known as the 'Square Mile'. It was an affluent neighbourhood emerging out of the country fields located near the base of Mount Royal.[12] Here, the prominent Montreal businessmen and their families formed a tight-knit society, inextricably linked through business partnerships and marriages, concerned as much with status and image as with health and comfort.[13] Not surprisingly, it was likely through these connections that some of the early Montrealers learned of the beauty of Lake Memphremagog and the available land. The primary sources show that most of the earliest Montrealers started to purchase property on the lake in the early 1860s.

[11] By the late 1800s and early 1900s, the material touting the beauty of Lake Memphremagog abounded in tourist guides, newspapers and other publications that could be easily acquired. Prior to this period, however, such writings were less common for the Eastern Townships, though romantic descriptions could be found in such publications as the *Canadian Scenery* volumes and in Trollope's tour of North America, among others. Given this, the early Montrealers who came to the lake would have relied heavily on the opinions and influence of those with whom they had social and business connections. This significant social circle will be analyzed more closely in Chapter Five.

[12] MacKay, *The Square Mile*, 29-32.

[13] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 205.

Figure 3.1 – The locations of the estates of *Belmere*, *Glenbrook*, *Fern Hill* and *Dunkeld* on Lake Memphremagog



Source: Putnam and Gray, "Map of the District of St. Francis," 1863, Stanstead Township, (Eastern Townships Resource Centre).

Judge Charles Dewey Day was among the first Montrealers to purchase property on the lake's eastern shore. Having moved with his family from Vermont to Montreal as a young boy, he was educated in Montreal and admitted to the bar in 1827. During his career, Day achieved political prominence through his work as solicitor general in the Executive Council, his appointment the Court of the Queen's Bench and as a judge to the Superior Court, as well as being one of three judges to codify Lower Canada's civil law. Day also possessed a particular interest in education, which led him to his involvement with the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning as well as to his part in

McGill's mid-century revival.[14] In Montreal, the Judge had a house on Durocher Street, just outside of the traditional limits of the 'Square Mile' but still within the elite neighbourhood.[15]

Day and his wife first purchased lakeside property on Lake Memphremagog in the 1850s and began to construct their summer villa in 1861. As the decade progressed, they continued to add to their estate by buying land from surrounding farmers.[16] They named their summer estate *Glenbrook*, which retained its name through subsequent owners. In 1873, Day sold his property to Alexander Molson, who in turn sold it to Henry L. Gully two years later.[17] Georgeville residents expressed their sadness with the sale and had hoped he would return to the lake but that was the end of Day's time as a summer resident.[18]

After having visited Lake Memphremagog during previous summers, Alexander Molson and his wife, Eliza Ann Holmes, purchased 115 acres of lakefront property in 1864, which had been the farm of George W. Brown. In 1883, they would further expand their summer estate with the addition of 50 acres and, again, in 1884, with Baird's Island, later to become Molson Island.[19] As is suggested by his family name, Alexander Molson

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[14] *Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online,* s.v. "Charles Dewey Day", by Carman Miller, accessed 4 March 2012, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?BioId=39589.

[15] Mrs. Robert W. S. Mackay, ed., *Mackay's Montreal Directory, New Edition, Corrected in May and June 1857-1858,* (Montreal: Owler & Stevenson, 1857), 87.

[16] Scott, "A Briefing Paper ," 9; Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 12, no.1023, "Nason Peasely to Charles Dewey Day," 16 December 1864; Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 17, no. 56, "Kerby Talbot to Charles Dewey Day," 21 July 1865 and Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 12, no. 841, "Joseph Kemp to Charles Dewey Day," 14 February 1865.

[17] Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 19, no. 366, "Charles Dewey Day to Alexander Molson," 13 May 1873 and Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 21, no. 876, "Alexander Molson to Henry L. Gully," 6 October 1875.

[18] "Local Items," *Stanstead Journal*, 17 July 1873.

[19] Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 12, no. 785, "George W. Brown to Alexander Molson," 21 December 1864; Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 12, no. 806, "George W. Brown to Alexander Molson," 12 January 1865; Province of Quebec, Stanstead

was part of the prominent Montreal Molson family, who had first made their mark with their brewery and later expanded into other areas of industry. Alexander, one of John Molson, Jr.'s five sons, is mentioned largely in passing in the histories of the Montreal Molsons.[20] However, upon his father's death, Alexander was left with a generous annuity and was a part of Montreal's elite social circle.[21] In Montreal, he lived on Sherbrooke Street, also just outside of the 'Square Mile'.[22]

Molson named his estate *Fern Hill* and, over the years, the property became known for its stately villa, well-manicured lawns, gardens and, in particular, for its impressive orchards. Along with the announcement of his death in 1897, the *Stanstead Journal* also wrote that *Fern Hill* had "one of the largest and best apple orchards in the country besides and abundance of small fruit."[23] The Molsons made *Fern Hill* their summer home for over half a century and were among the early Montreal families with the longest-lasting presence on the lakeshore. After Alexander's death in 1897 and that of his wife Eliza in 1907, Ella, one of their daughters, continued to regularly spend summers at *Fern Hill*. During this time, they were a significant presence among Georgeville permanent residents and summer residents alike; the Molsons did not shy from away social activities and were involved in the local economy.

Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 28, no. 4532, "Alfred Joyce to Eliza Ann Holmes Molson," 28 April 1883 and Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 45, no. 10114, "Egerton Ford to Eliza Ann Holmes," 1 March 1884.

[20] Alexander Molson was the vice-president and manager of the Mechanics' Bank in Montreal [*The Bankers' Almanac for 1873* (New York: Banker's Magazine and Statistical Register, 1873), 242]. In *The Molsons: The Birth of a Business Empire* by Doug Hunter, Alexander is named only in the family tree (Toronto: Penguin/Viking, 2001, xxv) and in *The Molson Family* by Bernard K Sandwell he is acknowledged only with a few brief lines (Montreal: Ronalds, 1933, 154, 240). For Alexander Molson's children, see Appendix IV.

[21] *Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online,* s.v. "John Moslon," by Alfred Dubuc and Robert Tremblay, accessed 4 March 2012, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=4091&&PHPSESSID=be7dhstgkjrn7vb305reff0e54.

[22] Mackay, ed., *Mackay's Montreal Directory, 1857-1858*, 238.

[23] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 22 July 1897.

Figure 3.2 – Alexander Molson's children at *Fern Hill*, 1867

Source: William Notman, "Mrs. Molson's Children, Lake Memphremagog (?), 1867," (McCord Museum).

Finally, Henry Chapman was born in England but had immigrated to Montreal by 1842, when he is found in the Montreal Directory as a general merchant.[24] In 1847, Chapman married Isabella Shaw, daughter of Andrew Shaw, a prominent Montreal merchant. The available sources suggest that Henry and Isabella never had any children. By the 1850s, they had moved into the upper-class neighbourhood with a house on Durocher Street and Chapman had become the head of Henry Chapman & Company, wine and spirits merchants.[25] He also acted as an agent for Lloyd's and Glasgow Board of Underwriters, and was a foreign consul for countries such as Norway, Sweden, Prussia and Spain for number of years. Furthermore, he was a provisional trustee and director for the St. Lawrence Warehouse, Dock and Wharfage Company.[26]

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[24] Robert W. S. Mackay, *The Monreal Directory for 1842-43,* (Montreal: Lovell, 1842), 32.
[25] *Mackay's Montreal Directory, 1855,* (Monreal: Owler & Stevenson, 1855), 47; Mackay, ed., *Mackay's Montreal Directory, 1857-8*, 63; Province of Quebec, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, "Marriage of Henry Chapman to Isabella Shaw," 11 October 1847.
[26] Robert W. S. Mackay, ed., *Montreal Directory, corrected in May, 1850,* (Montreal: Lovell & Gibson, 1850), 342; Robert W. S. Mackay, ed., *The Montreal Directory, New Edition, Corrected in May and June 1853,* (Montreal: Robert W. S. Mackay, 1853), 379, 396; Mackay, ed., *Mackay's Montreal Directory,*

In 1864, Henry and Isabella purchased a 160-acre lakefront farm on Lake Memphremagog and were also given land grants for a number of islands on the lake.[27] On the property, which they named *Belmere*, Chapman built an impressive villa overlooking the lake as well as a large wharf – to accommodate steamboats – and other buildings. Their time on the lake was brief, however, and the Chapmans sold the estate to Hugh Allan in 1866. Not long after that, they left Canada, moving to Europe.[28] Notably, there were numerous business and social connections between Andrew Shaw, Chapman's father-in-law, and Hugh Allan. As early as 1843, Shaw and Allan were connected through the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal; the former, as Vice-President of the Society and, the latter, as a manager.[29] In the early 1850s, Hugh Allan and Andrew Shaw served together on the Board of Arbitration for the Board of Trade in Montreal and the Montreal Telegraph Company.[30] It is possible that these connections may have lead to Allan's purchase of *Belmere* from Chapman.

From the above biographies of some of the early Montrealers on Lake Memphremagog, it becomes evident that their social and business connections placed them clearly within Montreal's distinct upper-class community. These connections also suggest that it is likely some of Montrealers found themselves at the lake through having heard of its attractions through word of mouth. These connections are also evident in the

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1857-1858, 457 and Canada, *Statutes of the Province of Canada,* (Toronto: Derbishire & Desbarats, 1857), 798.

[27] Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 11, no. 384, "Kerby Talbot to Isabella Shaw," 23 January 1864; Library and Archives Canada, *Lower Canada land index for the land petitions for RG 1, L 3 L*, (Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1981), 1002.

[28] Henry Chapman died in Cheltenham, England in 1896 and Isabella passed away in 1874 in Paris, France (Scott, "A Briefing Paper," 14).

[29] Robert W. S. Mackay, *The Montreal Directory, for 1843-44,* (Montreal: Lovell & Gibson, 1843), 221.

[30] Robert W. S. Mackay, *The Montreal Directory, New Edition, corrected in May 1852,* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1852), 346 and *The Montreal Pocket Almanack, and General Register, for 1851,* (Montreal: J. Strake, 1851), 75.

cases of the William Murray family and the Hugh Allan family. For the purpose of this analysis, I am including more detailed biographies of the Murrays and the Allans. They are among the more prominent and long-lasting Lake Memphremagog *villégiateurs,* both families having maintained a presence on the Lake for over a century, and are the families for which the most significant primary source information has survived to the present day. For these reasons, the Murrays and the Allans appear frequently in the following chapters and a greater understanding of their biographies will be useful to facilitate the discussion.

3.2 William Murray and family

While less known today, William Murray was a very active figure in Montreal society during the mid-nineteenth century. William Murray, along with his wife Agnes Gow and three eldest children – Annabella, John and Grace – emigrated from Scotland in the 1830s. In 1867, William, along with some business partners, established a shipping company. Officially named the Canada Shipping Company, the line was popularly known as the Beaver Line for the company's flag bearing the Canadian beaver. Although the Beaver Line never returned significant profits, it is noted as an important contributor to Canadian trade and commerce. The line started off as a fleet of sailing ships at a time when their efficiency was fast being overshadowed by steam technology. It was not until 1875, after William Murray's death in 1874, that the first steamers were added to the Beaver Line's fleet. Following this transition, the line led the way towards the reduction of transatlantic cabin passage rates and introduced the embarking and landing passengers at Montreal instead of Quebec City. However, by the 1890s, the company was

experiencing significant difficulties and, after time in liquidation, the Beaver Line made its last transatlantic passage in 1899.[31]

During his lifetime, William built up a sizeable fortune in insurance and shipping. Beyond these interests, he founded the Mount Royal Cemetery Company in 1847 along with others, including John Molson, and served time as a director of the St. Andrew's Society.[32] Clearly, the Murrays were a part of the Montreal elite class but were somewhat unique in that they lived, essentially, outside of the city. Murray purchased a farm in Côte St. Antoine, which later became the residential suburb of Westmount but remained relatively unpopulated in the 1800s. The town of Côte St. Antoine was eventually incorporated into Montreal in 1908. Nonetheless, like his city counterparts, Murray built a handsome mansion, named *Westmount* for the nearby Westmount Mountain.[33]

Likely having heard of Lake Memphremagog through his business connection to Thomas MacDuff, William Murray purchased lakeshore farmland, 185 acres worth, in 1861 from Charles S. Channel.[34] Considering their Scottish background and subsequent marriage of their children, it is reasonable to conclude that Thomas MacDuff directed William Murray to Lake Memphremagog after his own purchase of property in 1861.[35] From this time, up until his death, William's oldest sons, John and Walter Gow lived as gentleman farmers on Lake Memphremagog. John and Walter G., despite being the two

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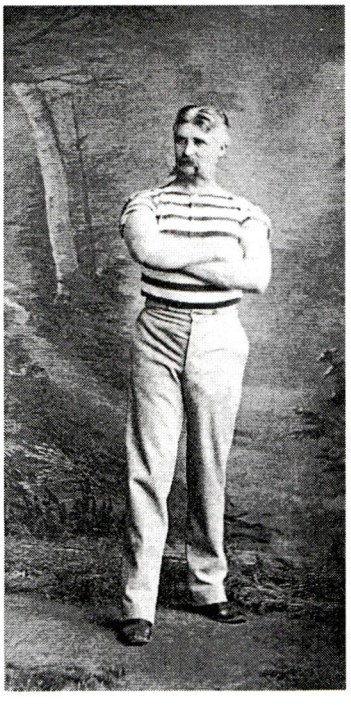
[31] James Croil, *Steam Navigation and Its Relation to the Commerce of Canada and the United States,* (Toronto: Williams Brigss, 1898), 229-33.
[32] Brian Young, *Respectable Burial: Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 2003) 24; Mackay, ed., *Mackay's Montreal Directory, 1857-1858,* 460.
[33] William Douw Lighthall, "Historical Sketch of Westmount," Westmount Historical Association, 1920, last modified January 2003, http://www.westmounthistorical.org/lighthall.html.
[34] Scott, "A Briefing Paper," 10-11.
[35] Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 9, no. 413, "Charles S. Channel to Thomas MacDuff," 19 March 1861.

eldest sons, never became involved in their father's shipping or insurance ventures. Instead, the younger brothers followed their father's path in Montreal while John and Walter G. took care of their father's lakeside farm.[36]

While this was not a summer residence but, rather, a permanent placement for them both, reports in the *Stanstead Journal* suggest that John Murray made frequent trips to Montreal.[37] Left with a sizeable inheritance at the time of his father's death in 1874, Walter G. left Lake Memphremagog and purchased property in Massawippi, where he built up an estate and mansion near the lake there.[38] A few years later, in 1881, John began construction on his own impressive mansion, naming his estate *Dunkeld.*

Figure 3.3 – John Murray, ca. 1880



Source: Unknown, "John Murray," (Georgeville Historical Society).

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[36] While not pertinent to the discussion, it is worth noting that the fascination with marine navigation was pursued by the following generation through John's son, William A. Murray, who experimented with steam and gasoline engines for small marine vessels (William A. Murray Collection, Private Collection, Georgeville, Quebec).

[37] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 11 May 1876 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 17 June 1880.

[38] Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 21, no. 777, "Benjamin Martin Jr. to Walter Gow Murray," 14 July 1875.

In 1866, John had married Isabella MacDuff, daughter of Thomas MacDuff.[39] MacDuff had emigrated from Scotland to Montreal and was the head of Montreal's Gilmour Lumber Company.[40] John and Isabella had four children: William Alexander, John Hector, Katherine Grace and Agnes Edith.[41] As mentioned earlier, although *Dunkeld* was their permanent home, the Murrays made frequent trips to Montreal as is indicated through numerous references to their visits in the *Stanstead Journal.* Even John's spinster sisters, Annabella and Grace, spent time at *Dunkeld* in the summer.[42]

The Murray family's strong connection to the lake remained through the years. John's three living children, William A., Katherine Grace and Agnes, inherited the property after the death of their father in 1893. Subsequently, K. Grace and Agnes relinquished their stake in *Dunkeld* and, in return, William A. had two sections of the property separated from the main estate for each of the sisters.[43] William A., K. Grace and Agnes, along with their families, all made Lake Memphremagog their summer home until well into the 1900s. The original *Dunkeld* mansion and estate remained in the Murray family for another generation after William A., until it was purchased by actor Donald Sutherland in the 1980s. For the Murrays, as well as for other Montreal families, the connection to the lake was an enduring one.

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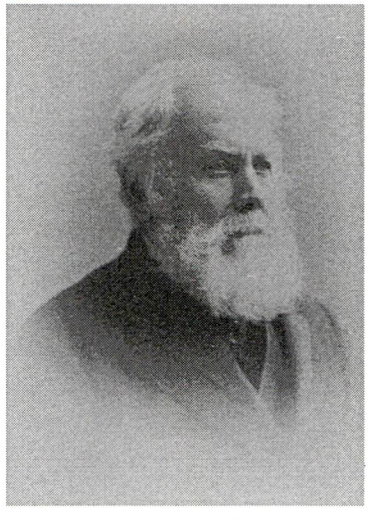
[39] Province of Quebec, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal, St. James the Apostle Anglican Church, "Marriage of John Murray to Isabella Maria MacDuff," 3 April 1866.
[40] Robert W. S. Mackay, *The Montreal Directory for 1866-67,* (Montreal: Lovell, 1866), 218.
[41] For more genealogical information on John Murray's family, please see Appendix III.
[42] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 2 August 1888.
[43] Letter, Katherine Grace Murray to William A. Murray, 11 May 1904, William A. Murray Collection (Private Collection, Georgeville, Quebec). John's second son, John Hector, died as a child in 1874 (Province of Quebec, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montreal, Christ Church Cathedral Anglican Church, "Burial of John Hector Murray," 13 June 1874).

3.3 Sir Hugh Allan and family

Born in Saltcoats, Scotland in 1810, Hugh Allan was the second son of Captain Alexander Allan, a shipmaster and ship-owner. Being from a shipping family, Allan naturally began to learn the trade at a very young age. In 1826, he made the cross-Atlantic trip to Montreal to apprentice in business but eventually made the switch to work in the office of the shipbuilders and ship merchants J. Miller & Company. He became the second partner in Edmunston & Allan in 1853, at which time the firm began construction of iron screw steamships. Clearly, Allan realized that this new technology would be profitable when applied to the transatlantic travel of passengers and mail. His brother, Andrew Allan, eventually joined the firm to form Hugh and Andrew Allan and together they established the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, better known as the Allan Line. Beyond transporting the typical cargo and passengers, the Allan Line received a government contract to carry mail between England and Canada in 1856. The Allans could boast of having some of the fastest ships plying the Atlantic Ocean.[44]

Figure 3.4 – Sir Hugh Allan, ca. 1870



Source: Unknown, "Hugh Allan," (Stanstead Historical Society).

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[44] Croil, *Steam Navigation,* 196-108; Thomas E. Appleton, "The Montreal Ocean Steamship Company," in *Ravenscrag: The Allan Royal Mail Line*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), 46-69.

Similarly to other successful Montreal businessmen, Allan expanded his interests beyond shipping to manufacturing, insurance, natural resources and railway promotion.[45] He was the director of the Montreal Telegraph Company, the Montreal Warehousing Company, the Merchants' Bank of Canada, the Mulgrave Gold Mining Company and the Pacific Railway. In recognition of his remarkable accomplishments and contribution to the commerce of Canada, Hugh Allan was knighted by the Queen in July 1871.[46] It is not surprising, then, that by 1870, Allan was one of the richest men in Canada.[47]

Sir Hugh married Matilda Smith, daughter of a Montreal dry goods merchant, in September 1844.[48] Together, they had a total of 13 children, 12 of which survived to adulthood: Alexander, Elizabeth, Jean, Matilda, Florence, Phoebe, Margaret, Hugh Montagu, Bryce, Edythe, Mabel and Arthur. Matilda died after a brief illness in 1881 in Montreal. Sir Hugh died a year later, while visiting England, in 1882.[49] Hugh Montagu, generally known as Montagu, took over the Allan Line after Sir Hugh's death.[50]

In keeping with his growing fortunes and expanding family, Allan purchased part of the old Simon McTavish property near the base of Mount Royal and, from 1861 to 1864, he constructed a large and striking mansion on Pine Avenue, designed in the Italianate style.[51] The mansion was named *Ravenscrag*, after a moorland area in Ayshire, Scotland.[52] Some authors have emphasized Allan's choice of location and style, citing them as indications of his desire to demonstrate his success and wealth to others. While

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[45] MacKay, *The Square Mile*, 68.
[46] George MacLean Rose, *The Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography: Being Chiefly Men of the Time,* (Toronto: Pose Publications, 1886), 35-6.
[47] MacKay, *The Square Mile*, 78.
[48] Rose, *Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography*, 36.
[49] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 23 June 1881; Rose, *Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography*, 36.
[50] Appleton, *Ravenscrag*. For more genealogical information on Sir Hugh Allan's family, please see Appendix II.
[51] Rémillard and Merrett, *Demeures bourgeoises*, 78-9.
[52] Appleton, "The Montreal Ocean Steamship Company," in *Ravenscrag*, 13-4, 47.

nonetheless noteworthy, this was a trait common among many of the large mid-century mansions that sprung up in Montreal's prestigious 'Square Mile'.[53]

As mentioned earlier, escaping summer in the city was becoming increasingly popular in the mid-nineteenth century among Montrealers with the means to do so. Allan demonstrated that he was no exception to the trend towards *villégiature* when he purchased Chapman's handsome estate in 1866.[54] Through the following decades, at least a portion of the Allan family regularly spent summers at *Belmere*, arriving in late May and staying until September. Even after the death of their parents, some of Sir Hugh's daughters continued to find some time to spend at the lake into the late 1880s. However, the sale of Sir Hugh's steam yacht, the *Orford,* in 1886 suggests that the family's general attraction to the lake had begun to wane as many of the Allan daughters were marrying and the Allan sons were pursuing business interests. [55]

The one exception to this was Sir Hugh's second youngster daughter, Edythe. Mention of her visits to the lake only disappear for a short time and then resume with regularity during the 1890s. After her marriage to James Routledge in 1892, Edythe purchased the estate from her siblings (all of whom had shares in it after their father's and brother, Arthur's death). For a time, Edythe and James made *Belmere* their summer home, spending winters out West on James' cattle ranch. Following a number of accidents and James' tragic death in 1899, Edythe made *Belmere* her permanent home,

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[53] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 128-9, 147.
[54] Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 13, no. 277, "Isabella Shaw to Hugh Allan," 16 August 1866. It may be noted here that Chapman probably made a significant return on his initial investment in *Belmere*. He purchased it for $2 500 in 1864 and, two years later, sold it to Sir Hugh for $26 000.
[55] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 1 July 1886.

along with her two sons. She remained on the estate until her death in 1946, when it was transferred in to the possession of her surviving son, Jim.

3.4 Conclusion

It was primarily the expansion of railway networks through southern Quebec and the completion of the Victoria Bridge in 1859, coupled with the appearance of the first steamship on the lake that made Lake Memphremagog much more accessible for tourists. The ability to make it from the city to the lakeshore in less than a day prompted Montrealers' interest in Lake Memphremagog as a *villégiature* destination. From the above biographies, this chapter has demonstrated that business and family connections played an integral part in the emergence and composition of the *villégiature* community at the lake. Alexander Molson, Sir Hugh Allan, Henry Chapman, Judge Charles Dewey Day and William Murray had clear business and social connections, which influenced their selection of Lake Memphremagog, as they would have perhaps first heard of it or were encouraged to visit it through these relationships. Alternately, the fact that Judge Day sold his summer house on Lake Memphremagog shortly before presiding over a Royal Commission involving Sir Hugh suggests that these relationships likely contributed to his departure.

CHAPTER IV
COUNTRY HOUSE AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE

In the 1860s and 1870s, as has been seen above, the summer estates on Lake Memphremagog were owned predominantly by upper-class Montreal families who left the city in favour of the fresh air of the lake shore. Although they chose to leave behind many aspects of urban life, the Montrealers brought their upper-class beliefs with them to their summer homes. The growing wealth of the Montreal elite into the mid-nineteenth century resulted in a more pronounced effort to clearly define themselves from the less affluent in various ways. Among other symbols, it was common for them to express social status through their living spaces, their houses growing in proportion to their wealth.[1] Their summer estates were no exception to this attitude. The Montrealers on Lake Memphremagog were proud and withheld no expense in the construction of their estates. A number of them commissioned the famous Montreal photographer, William Notman, to produce prints of their properties. Fortunately, many of these photographs have survived to the present, along with a few others, which allow us to view some of the original grandeur of the estates. By studying their lakeside country estates, this chapter will demonstrate how romanticism and upper-class culture strongly influenced many of the architectural and landscaping styles preferred by the Montreal elite.

4.1 Upper-class culture through architecture

As *villégiature* became increasingly fashionable in Quebec into the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of architectural styles were applied to the summer

[1] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 205-7.

houses that were springing up in the countryside and along the seashore. Eager to emulate their American and English counterparts, many of the elite adopted styles popular in other regions, which were readily available through architectural pattern books from the U.S. and England.[2] Particularly common for country-house architecture were the Shingle, Second Empire, Italianate, and Palladian styles. Architectural styles varied from house to house but one thing remained common among the majority: each style played off of architectural elements from historical periods.[3] The implied historical connection was intended to evoke images and feelings tied to their historical setting. The rapid societal changes brought about by industrialization pushed members of the upper class – many being nouveau-riche – to want to establish a connection to the past and to 'traditional' values, which they did in part through architecture.[4] For example, Shingle-style and Queen Anne provided a connection to the colonial time period characterized by a simpler, pre-industrial life.[5] Similarly, Italianate and Italian Renaissance styles identified with the humanist ideals of the Renaissance period.[6] Regardless of the specific style, the ostentatious architectural styles of the nineteenth century were largely intended as public displays of success, culture, power and wealth. While this was particularly true when it came to their mansions in the city, it was also a factor in country house styles.

As alluded to earlier, architectural styles during this period were also defined by elements common to romantic thought, such as eclecticism and the picturesque. When applied to architecture, these characteristics produced design elements that were meant to

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[2] For an example, see Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses.*
[3] See Peter Ennals and Deryck W. Holdsworth, *Homeplace: The Making of the Canadian Dwelling of Three Centuries*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) for a general description of architectural styles and trends common in Canada during the nineteenth century.
[4] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition,* edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (New York: Cambridge, 1983), 1-2, 12.
[5] Hewitt, *The Architect*, 69-77, 155.
[6] Rémillard and Merrett, *Demeures bourgeoises*, 33.

be eye-catching and dramatic. To onlookers, they were intended to reference historical periods which suggested old, family wealth or a 'more simple' time. Such features included large projecting windows, turrets, high chimneys, irregular forms and striking gables.[7] The application of the picturesque is particularly true for country houses as they often aspired to mimic the dramatic qualities of the natural landscape.

It is in this way that country-house architecture differed from urban architecture. It needed to combine the strong belief in the conspicuous status symbol with the desire to commune with nature. Styles were carefully chosen for the aesthetic environments they would create, which needed to be enjoyed from the outdoors. In the case of the summer villas around Lake Memphremagog, this aim resulted in architectural styles that were less assuming and pretentious than their urban counterparts. As will be seen below, the villas were impressive but still relatively modest, especially when juxtaposed to the later, turn-of-the-century summer villas of Montreal's elite in other Quebec regions. This modesty can be partially attributed to the still comparatively juvenile state of Quebec's industrial revolution and the consequently limited fortunes. In the same way that industrialization lagged a few decades behind the United States, Quebec's popular architectural styles lagged somewhat behind the architectural trends to the south.[8] Although they present more muted forms of the popular, nineteenth-century country house styles, the existing photographs of the country houses along Lake Memphremagog's eastern shore indicate that there are clear commonalities among them. If considering the architectural styles as part of a spectrum ranging from the grandiose to the modest, *Belmere* and *Fern Hill* would be in the centre while *Glenbrook*, as a modest design, and *Dunkeld*, as grandiose,

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[7] Gagnon-Pratte, *Maisons de campagne,* 130 and Gagnon-Pratte and Dubé, "La Villa", 22-25.
[8] Ennals and Holdsworth, *Homeplace*, 149.

would be at opposite ends. Below, I will explore the similarities, as well as the differences, of these four country houses on Lake Memphremagog. Through the following descriptions, it will be shown that each property conveyed specific tenets of romanticism, as well as indicating the particular preferences of its specific owner.

4.1.1 Sir Hugh Allan's *Belmere* and Molson's *Fern Hill*

While the family of Sir Hugh Allan owned *Belmere* for over a century, a significant part of the estate was actually constructed under the direction of Henry Chapman, *Belmere's* original owner. John Murray describes the construction of Chapman's residence in a letter to his mother in 1864, which indicates that the main house had already been completed by the time Allan purchased it in 1866.[9] Thus, Chapman was likely responsible for many of the architectural style choices for the country house. However, the specifics of which owner may have built what are not of utmost importance for this examination. Regardless of who built it, the fact that Hugh Allan chose to purchase *Belmere*, and for a price exponentially more than what Chapman had paid, indicates that the estate met his personal preferences.

Belmere, as an estate, consisted of the main house (also known as the 'big house'), boathouse, bathing house, two wharfs, gardener's cottage, bowling alley, hermitage, farmhouse and other farm buildings. The main summer house no long exists unfortunately and because there are no known architectural plans, we now have to rely on photographs for insight into what it looked like originally. Purchased by Allan in 1866, some of the best photographs that have survived of *Belmere* were taken by Notman in

[9] Scott, "A Briefing Paper," 14.

June 1870, in honour of Allan's royal guest, Prince Arthur.[10] A series of these photographs, along with others that Notman had taken in 1867, were printed and bound as gifts; only a few copies still exist today.[11] The bound album is incredibly useful to give a perspective of the original estate as it includes photographs of the grounds, the buildings, the views and the visitors.

Looking for examples in A. J. Downing's popular, contemporary country house architectural pattern book, *Belmere's* main house appears most similar to the 'plain timber cottage-villa' but has been designed with elements of Gothic Revival.[12] Without question, *Belmere* cannot be considered a villa by this American standard because of its size. Smaller than a villa but larger than a cottage and made with clapboard siding rather than stone, brick or stucco made it a 'cottage-villa' according to Downing.

Figure 4.1 – View of *Belmere* and verandah, ca. 1870

Source: William Notman, "Belmere," (Stanstead Historical Society).

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[10] "Belmere, Lake Memphremagog", *Canadian Illustrated News*, 16 July 1870, 35.
[11] One known surviving copy is preserved by the Stanstead Historical Society, in Stanstead, Quebec.
[12] Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 295-300.

Figure 4.2 – View of *Belmere*, with employees on lawn, ca. 1870

Source: William Notman, "Servants Groupe," (Stanstead Historical Society).

Figure 4.3 – Avenue at *Belmere*, ca. 1870

Source: William Notman, "Belmere," (Stanstead Historical Society).

Although generally symmetrical and lacking the very dramatic features of some contemporary styles, the house displayed a number of picturesque Gothic Revival characteristics. The steep roof, cross gable, tall windows, verandah with decorative brackets, along with the recurring use of the lancet arch (in the windows as well as on the flat-board balustrades of the second floor balcony), the carved barge-boards, finials and drip moldings set *Belmere* apart from traditional, vernacular architecture.[13] Also interesting are the circular and modified cathedral windows, the latter of which is not often seen in villa/cottage architecture during this time period. The decorative architectural details added whimsy and beauty to an otherwise traditional building. According to Downing, Gothic Revival was meant to express a certain level of modesty yet maintain a recognizable air of the picturesque and that the design "is that of a man or family of domestic tastes, but with strong aspirations after something higher than social pleasures."[14] In particular, the tall chimney, the pointed gable and horizontal lines of the verandah were designed to catch the eye of the on-looker. Furthermore, the large bay windows and tall casement windows, which extended almost to the floor, were intended to allow more light into the house, thus bringing more of the 'outside in'.

Although somewhat similar to *Belmere*, Alexander Molson's summer estate, *Fern Hill,* possessed features that differentiated it from the other estates that emerged lakeside and demonstrated the unique preferences of its owner. Alexander Molson was among the earliest Montrealers to buy Memphremagog lakefront property. Late in 1862, Alexander purchased 50 acres from George W. Brown and, in 1864, purchased the remaining 115-

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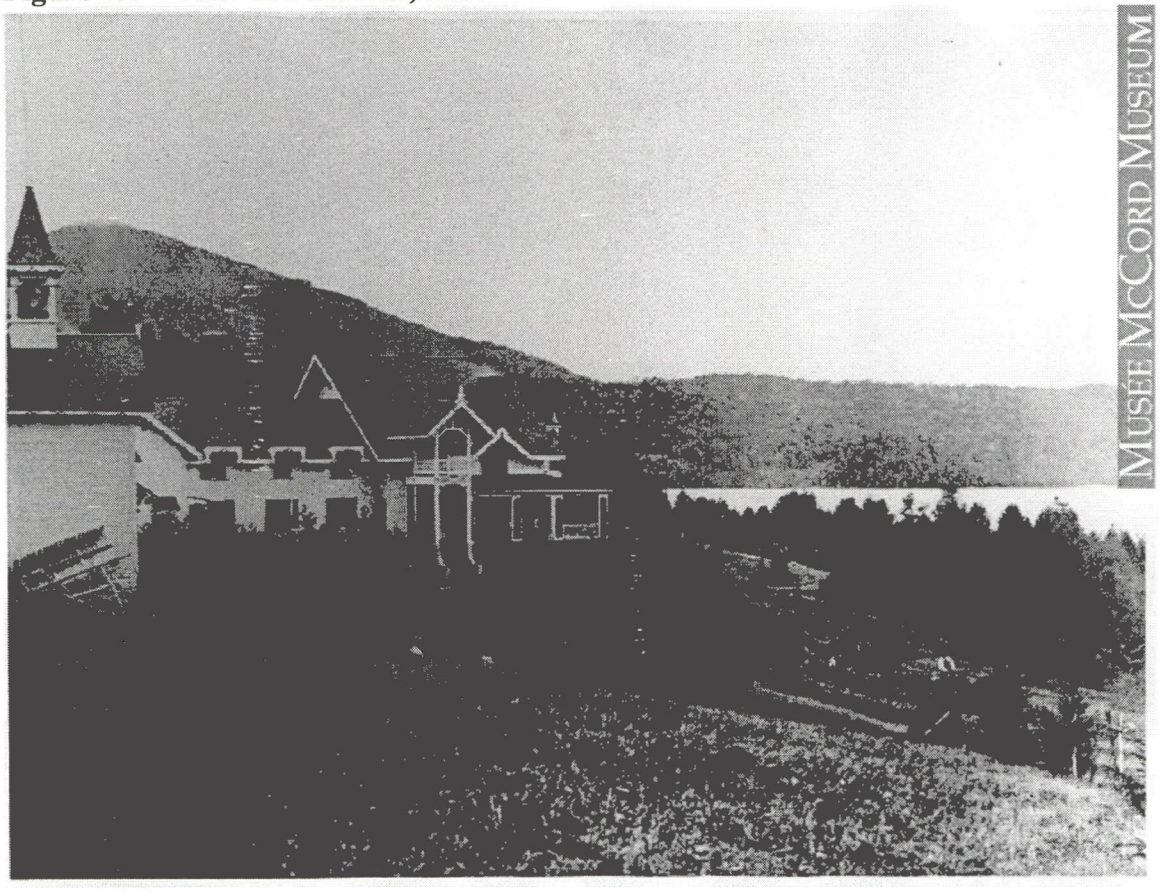
[13] John Milnes Baker, *American House Styles: A Concise Guide,* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 66-7 and Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 295-7.
[14] Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 295.

acre farm from Brown.[15] The original estate no longer exists and we are, again, left with a series of photographs that were taken by Notman in 1867, as well as some descriptions in contemporary published sources. As with other summer estates around Lake Memphremagog, *Fern Hill* consisted of the large country house, a boathouse, stables, farm house and barn, as well as an impressive orchard.

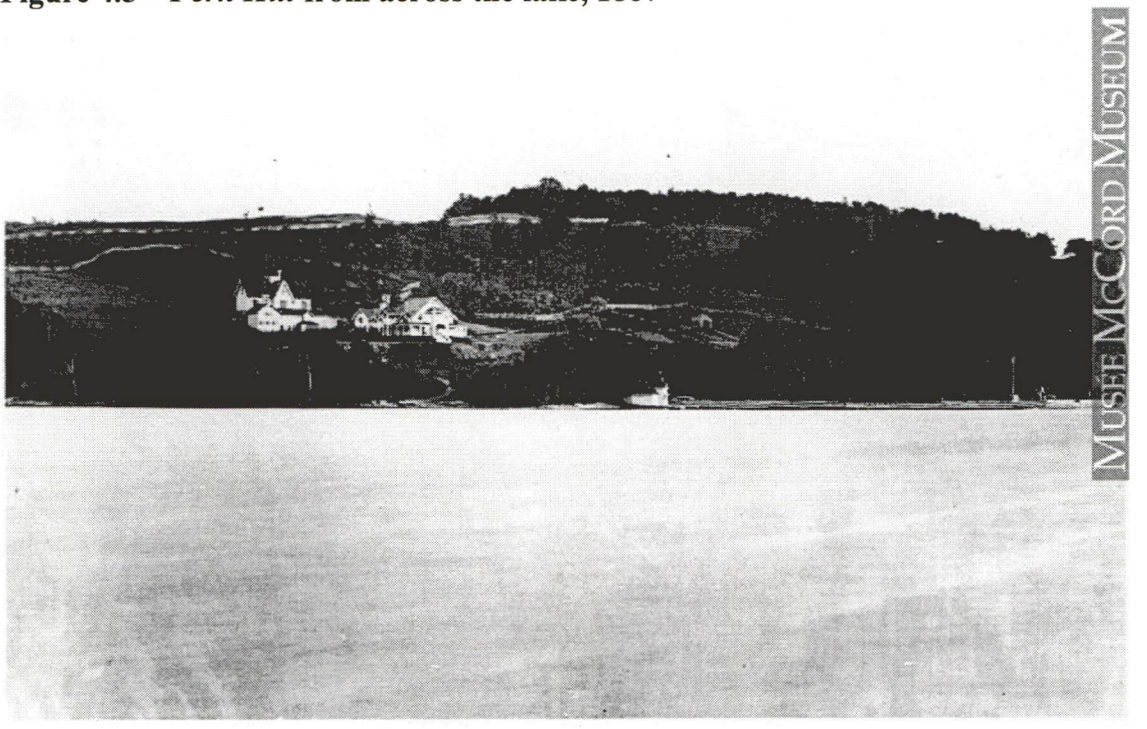
Figure 4.4 – View of *Fern Hill*, 1867



Source: William Notman, "Fern Hill from the Avenue, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

[15] Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 12, no. 785, "George W. Brown to Alexander Molson," 21 December 1864; Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 12, no. 806, "George W. Brown to Alexander Molson," 12 January 1865 and Scott, "A Briefing Paper," 6, 11.

Figure 4.5 – *Fern Hill* from across the lake, 1867



Source: William Notman, "A. Molson's house, Fern Hill, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

Looking again to A. J. Downing's pattern book, *Fern Hill*'s main house was an example of a plain timber cottage-villa with architectural influences from the Swiss Cottage style.[16] *Fern Hill* was rather simple in its basic design but stood out from the vernacular farm houses through its impressive size and architectural features. Various design characteristics identified *Fern Hill* as influenced by the Swiss Cottage design; the cutout flat-board balustrades, the second-floor balcony with its gabled overhang and the gabled windows were intended to give the occupants a picturesque, almost "storybook" escape from the burdens of modern industrialization.[17] Other characteristics also contributed to its overall picturesque appearance, such as its sprawling, irregular lay-out, towering chimneys, bargeboards, latticework, finials and multiple ornate cupolas.

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[16] For a description of the Swiss Cottage style, see Andrew Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 122-5.
[17] Baker, *American House Styles*, 74.

While both *Belmere* and *Fern Hill* were clearly styled after the popular country house architectural designs of the period, neither of the estates adhered closely to specific pattern. They each possessed varying design characteristics that were picturesque, irregular and eclectic. Clearly, they fit well into the romantic tendencies of the period, but also reflected the unique preferences of Allan and Molson.

4.1.2 Judge Day's *Glenbrook* and John Murray's *Dunkeld*

The estates of Judge Day and John Murray are interesting for their styles which were unique in comparison to the country estates of Sir Hugh Allan and Alexander Molson. As mentioned earlier, Judge Day's *Glenbrook* was particularly modest in design and was notably opposite from John Murray's *Dunkeld.*

Judge Charles D. Day purchased part of lakeside farm from James B. Hoyt in 1856 and by the time he sold the property to his neighbour, A. Molson, in 1873, he had acquired a total of 273 acres including three of the lake's islands.[18] It is unknown exactly why Judge Day kept his property on Lake Memphremagog for less than a decade, only to continue to make summer visits to the lake in the years following.[19] It is likely, however, that after being appointed to the Canadian Pacific Railway Royal Commission, Judge Day may have felt the need to physically distance himself from Sir Hugh, who had been implicated in the affair.[20]

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[18] Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Register B, Vol. 19, no. 366, "Charles Dewey Day to Alexander Molson," 13 May 1873.
[19] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 17 July 1873; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 2 August 1877 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 15 August 1878.
[20] *Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online,* s.v. "Charles Dewey Day", by Carman Miller, accessed 4 March 2012, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=5467&&PHPSESSID=o75dsc2co5ec0jvhnuqk5udee1.

Figure 4.6 – Judge Day's *Glenbrook*, 1867

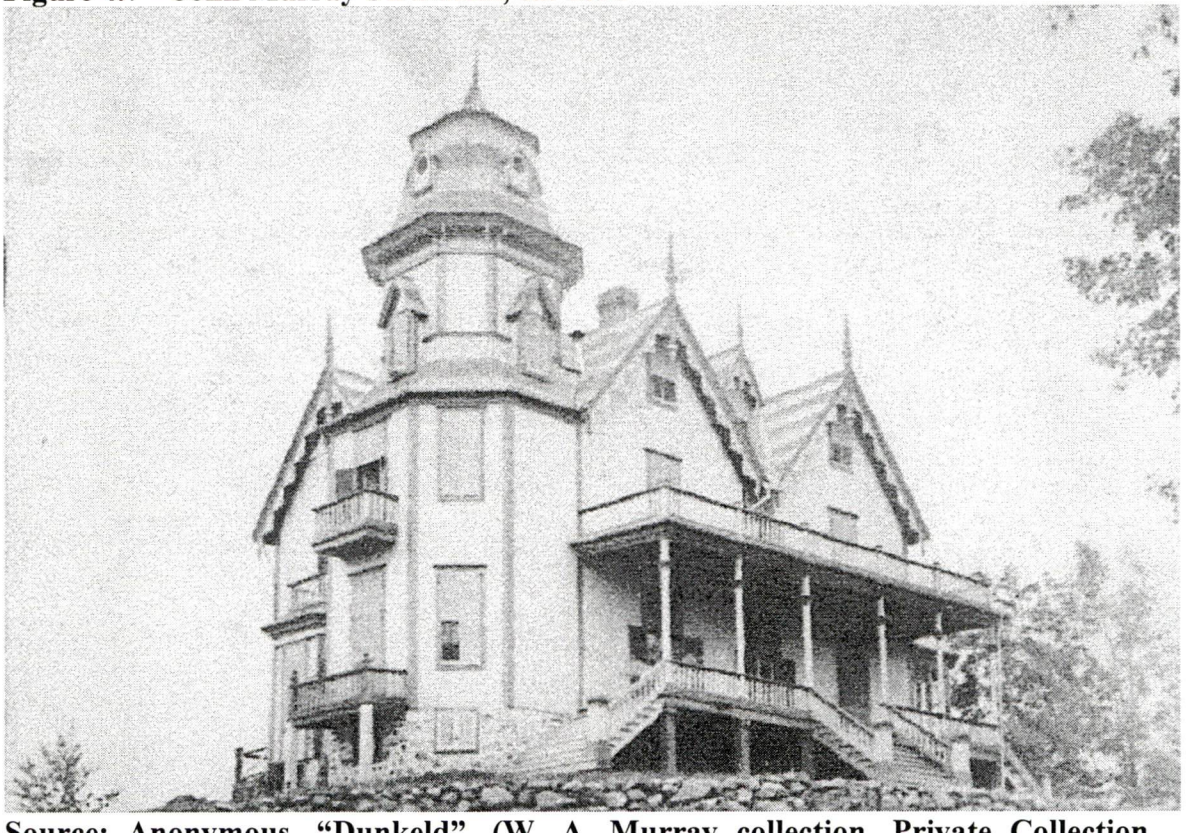
Source: William Notman, "Newport from Glen Brook, Judge Day's house, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

Only a few Notman photographs, also from 1867, are available for examination today, but nonetheless offer a window on what *Glenbrook* looked like during Judge Day's time there. In general, Judge Day's summer house looked the part of a vernacular timber farmhouse except for its large size. The only picturesque characteristics that it possessed were the wrap-around verandah and the dormer windows, which – while not intrinsically picturesque – added visual interest and character to the design.[21] The architectural style of *Glenbrook* communicated a very different message to onlookers when compared to those of *Belmere* and *Fern Hill*; it was meant to blend in rather than to stand out. This unassuming style, described as "charming" in one newspaper article, may

[21] Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 47.

have reflected Judge Day's personality traits as well.[22] When news of the sale of his property and departure from the lake reached the townspeople, a disappointment was expressed in the *Stanstead Journal* as a Georgeville correspondent wrote "We are sure we speak sentiments of the people generally in saying we hope Judge Day will find a place to his mind without leaving the Township."[23] Even five years later, it appears that the people of Georgeville had not yet lost hope that Judge Day would return: "There is a good bit of news that Hon. Judge Day is about buying back his old place [...]".[24] While this rumour went unfounded, it indicates that Judge Day had built up a relationship with the local people during his summers spent on the shores of Lake Memphremagog.

Figure 4.7 – John Murray's *Dunkeld*, ca. 1890



Source: Anonymous, "Dunkeld", (W. A. Murray collection, Private Collection, Georgeville, Quebec).

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[22] "Notes of a Trip from Montreal to Memphremagog", *Stanstead Journal*, 6 June 1864.
[23] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 17 July 1873.
[24] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 15 August 1878.

Although John Murray had lived on Lake Memphremagog since the early 1860s, he did not build a proper estate house until after the deaths of his father, William Murray, in 1874 and his mother in 1880. *Dunkeld* was certainly unique compared to its counterparts on the Eastern shore of the lake; it was designed in the Queen Anne architectural style, popular in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and not comparable to the more common styles of country houses in the region. The Queen Anne style was characterized by prominent chimneys, large verandahs, turrets, varied shingle and surface patterns, and widespread use of embellishments (e.g. brackets, finials, spindles, bargeboards, etc.), most of which *Dunkeld* possessed. These elements paired with steep cross gables, numerous dormer windows, the bay window and balconies made *Dunkeld* quintessentially picturesque in style.[25] In many ways, its design was better suited for the urban, upper-class neighbourhood of Montreal than the shores of Lake Memphremagog.

Figure 4.8 – *Dunkeld,* ca. 1890

Source: Anonymous, "Dunkeld", (W. A. Murray collection, Private Collection, Georgeville, Quebec).

[25] Baker, *American House Styles*, 88-9.

Picturesque architectural elements were intended to create a structure that was visually pleasing and striking to the onlooker. At the same time, however, these styles were intended to convey the wealth and social status of the residents.[26] In this way, *Dunkeld* spoke louder than other country houses along the lake. The grandiosity of Murray's house can be explained by a few factors. First, and probably most significantly, the *Dunkeld* property was John Murray's primary residence, rather than simply a country house. For this reason, it had to be comfortable enough to live in year-round. Also, while other Montrealers were able to convey their status through their ostentatious primary residences in the upper-class neighbourhood of the 'Square Mile', Murray's *Dunkeld* did not have an urban counterpart. Given this, it is not surprising that *Dunkeld* resembled the upper-class houses of Montreal more than the country houses of Lake Memphremagog.

Notably, *Belmere, Fern Hill* and particularly *Glenbrook* all conveyed some elements of vernacular architecture in their design, in particular through their material of construction. Downing describes this plain timber cottage-villa as a 'real' structure, one which derives its character from its "simplicity and fitness of construction".[27] Downing also emphasized the necessity that the design of a cottage or villa must suit its surroundings. Witold Rybczynski has identified an expressiveness and fantasy in estate and cottage architecture, which is not typical of urban architecture.[28] These architectural styles, described by Downing and chosen by the Montrealers, were best suited for the natural and rustic surroundings of the lake and were chosen for their romantic and

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[26] Jansen, *Wild Things,* 11 and McLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 205-7.
[27] Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 300.
[28] Rybczynski, *Waiting for the Weekend*, 172.

picturesque qualities. Though important, the houses of *Belmere*, *Fern Hill* and *Glenbrook* only made up a part of the estate. As summer retreats, where great amounts of time were meant to be passed outdoors, the landscaping and agricultural buildings were significant components of the estates.

4.2 Creating structured nature: landscape design

The Romantic Movement gave Western society a framework in which nature and wilderness could be appreciated. As discussed earlier, it ushered in a period where notions of the picturesque and of the sublime influenced the way natural phenomena and landscapes where interpreted and valued.[29] Transcendentalism was also on the rise during this period and influenced how nineteenth-century contemporary writers viewed nature. This movement promoted the belief that nature and wilderness gave a person better access to spiritual truths and that the wilderness possessed unique aesthetic and inspirational qualities.[30] Although Transcendentalism was an American movement, many of the most prominent names in Transcendentalism were from New England and it is not unreasonable to assume that Montrealers would have been exposed to these ideas in some way.

Furthermore, industrial businessmen increasingly sought out refuge from the suffocating confines of their urban surroundings. T. J. Jackson Lears argues this dissatisfaction grew out of emerging anti-modernist thought, which found the educated bourgeoisie desiring experiences that were outside of Victorian respectability and would

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[29] Jasen, *Wild Things.*
[30] Nash, *Wilderness*, 67-9, 85-6.

recapture 'real life' experiences.[31] Some of these real life experiences could be found through pre-modern activities such as hunting, 'gathering' (agriculture) and, in general, a return to the land.[32] It has also been argued that one's perception of and relationship with nature and the countryside was dependent on their position relative to it. Working the land would carry a different appeal and significance to *villégiateurs* who experienced it as a pastime to be enjoyed during weekends or a few months during the summer rather than those for whom it was their source of livelihood.[33]

These interpretations of the urban, industrial environment versus nature heavily influenced the appeal of Lake Memphremagog and its surroundings to upper-class *villégiateurs.* The picturesque mountain views, crisp water, fresh air and availability of rolling farmland to occupy made Lake Memphremagog, along with other areas in the Eastern Townships, a prime getaway location. Each of the early Montrealers to settle at the lake also had working farms as a part of their estate, which they continued to operate and employed people to oversee year-round. This is evidenced by estate photographs and newspaper descriptions. The Allans had a farm house where their tenant farmer, Robert Parker, lived for 26 years.[34] Also, through the years, various farm buildings at the estates succumbed to fire or narrowly escaped being destroyed.[35] In particular, the Molson estate, *Fern Hill*, was widely known for its extensive vegetable gardens and orchards.[36] Molson, along with fellow lakeside estate-owner R. A. Lindsay, also a Montrealer, strove

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[31] Jackson Lears, *No Place for Grace*, 5-7.
[32] Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).
[33] Aubin-des Roches, "Retrouver la ville," 17-31.
[34] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 21 April 1894.
[35] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 20 February 1896 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 11 February 1897.
[36] "Notes of a Trip from Montreal to Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal*, 6 June 1867; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 11 October 1877; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 22 July 1897.

to raise prize produce and animals: "R. A. Lindsay, Esq., of Woodland farm received the first prize on his Ayershire Bull [...]. We suppose that A. Molson's Fern Hill farm has produced more and better fruit than any other farm in this county."[37] Their retention of the 'gentleman's farms' and their participation in local agricultural exhibitions suggest that the farms played a notable part in their retreat to the country and may have been perceived as contributing to the 'real life' experience that Jackson Lears describes.

Beyond shaping the site and activities that formed their country getaway, *villégiateurs* went a step further by shaping how they experienced nature. Although Montrealers on Lake Memphremagog wanted to sojourn in locations close to nature, their estates were displays of controlled nature, rather than wild nature. The photographs of *Belmere, Fern Hill, Glenbook* and *Dunkeld* give evidence of this.[38] To guide them in this, there was no lack of contemporary literature with instructions on proper methods of landscape gardening. André Parmentier, recognized as the originator of picturesque principles in landscape design, introduced the upper class to these principles at the turn of the nineteenth century. [39] A. J. Downing followed with his *Treatise on Landscape Gardening,* as he argued to readers that proper landscape gardening increased one's personal enjoyment as well as expressed cultural and social status. Downing's work was wildly successful in bringing the upper and middle classes to the realization of the merits of residential landscape design. Nineteenth-century picturesque landscape design literature often focused on historical styles, such as Italianate and eclecticism, which were trends also present in architecture.[40]

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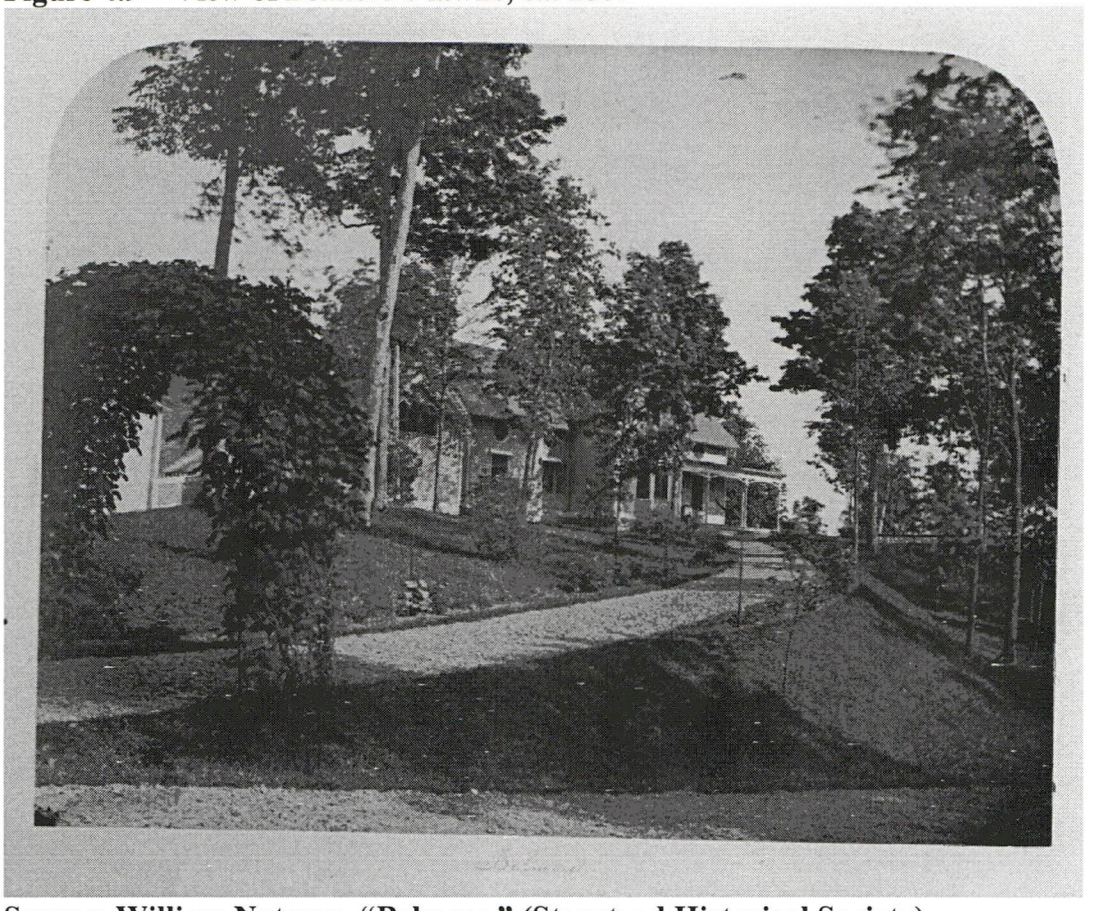
[37] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 11 October 1877.
[38] For additional photographs used in this analysis, please see Appendix V.
[39] Barlow Rogers, *Landscape Design*, 314.
[40] Newton, *Design on the Land*, 260-6.

Figure 4.9 – View of *Belmere's* lawns, ca. 1867



Source: William Notman, "Belmere," (Stanstead Historical Society).

Unfortunately, too few photographs of the early Lake Memphremagog estates exist to determine a specific type of landscape design. Nonetheless, the photographs available now, along with other sources, show a combination of careful landscaping paired with an admiration for the wilderness just beyond. Photographs of Sir Hugh's *Belmere* show extensive manicured lawns, foliage-covered arbours along with gardens and shrubbery. Molson's *Fern Hill* shows even more detailed landscaping with multiple gazebos, substantial flower gardens, vegetable gardens and walking paths. Reports found in the *Stanstead Journal* also express the significant extent of the landscaping on the estates. A description of a trip to Memphremagog in 1867 describes Molson's estate with a few lines about his gardens, "[...] his productive garden with its acre of asparagus and

thriving fruit trees [...]".[41] Later, in 1879, a correspondent writes "[...] lots of trees and shrubbery for gardens, &c. are being freighted out for those pleasant summer resorts [*Woodlands, Fern Hill* and *Glenbrook*]."[42] There is no doubt that the Montreal estate-owners were engaged in the beautification of their properties.

Figure 4.10 – The gardens at *Fern Hill*, 1867

Source: William Notman, "A. Molson's house, Fern Hill, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

Beyond their manicured lawns and gardens, the Allans, Molsons and others demonstrated their parallel admiration of the wilderness. The Notman collection of Lake Memphremagog area photographs from the 1860s contains numerous images of mountain and shoreline views from the estates. In the Allans' album of *Belmere*, 17 of the 33

[41] "Notes of Trip From Montreal to Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal,* 6 June 1867.
[42] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 15 May 1979.

photographs were views of relatively untransformed nature. In the McCord Museum's Notman collection, there are a handful of similar views from the grounds of *Belmere.* Likwise, the Notman views from *Fern Hill* and *Glenbrook* also included a greater number of landscape, or 'scenic', views than of the carefully maintained estates or country houses. The large number of these photographs suggests that wild nature held an equal evaluation among the Lake Memphremagog Montrealers.

Figure 4.11 – Untransformed nature on the *Belmere* estate, ca. 1867

Source: William Notman, "Mount Orford," (Stanstead Historical Society).

Figure 4.12 – Untransformed nature on *Glenbrook* estate, 1867

Source: William Notman, "Judge Day's house, Glen Brook, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," (McCord Museum).

The North American literature on nature, the wilderness and tourism during the nineteenth century suggests something similar. As discussed earlier, the wilderness was seen as having rejuvenating and inspirational qualities while 'picturesque' landscapes were valued as an element of taste.[43] Lynda Villeneuve, in her study of landscape and myth in nineteenth-century Charlevoix, further describes representations of the picturesque. She explains that, in England, the possession of topographical art was seen as a symbol of high society, political and social power as well as personal success; a meaning that was carried into Quebec in the nineteenth century. Although landscape photographs were not art in the traditional sense, they often reflected many of the qualities present in picturesque topographical art. Such qualities included the subtle

[43] Nash, W*ilderness,* 88-9 and Jasen, *Wild Things*, 7-8.

placement of trees in the foreground with mountains in the background, which made the landscape more majestic and striking.[44] Given this, the landscape photographs taken from the Montrealers' estates may have been a way for the estate-owners to portray their success and wealth to friends and family. Furthermore, the Montrealers' focus on images depicting wild nature demonstrates that they also attributed much value and meaning to it. Through their estates, they were able to exact some control over nature while simultaneously admiring the untamed nature that lied just beyond the boundaries of their influence.

This admiration for views of wild nature likely influenced their choice of Lake Memphremagog as a summer getaway over other popular destinations. Mid-century travel guides expounded on the 'untamed' scenery, forests and rolling hills offered by Lake Memphremagog. However, along with the gradual development of *villégiature* came significant changes to the view from the lake.

4.3 The view from the lake

Drawn by fertile soil and access to the water, many of the first settlers along the shores of Lake Memphremagog cleared large wooded areas in order to cultivate the land. The areas too mountainous for such ends, largely along the Western shore, were left untamed forests. For *villégiateurs* first visiting the lake in the late 1850s and 1860s, forests, mountains, farmland and quaint farmhouses would have been the predominant views from the lake. Furthermore, the shores around the lake would have been

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[44] Villeneuve, *Paysage*, 77-80.

essentially undeveloped with few docks or wharves to disturb the natural landscape, all of which would have attracted *villégiateurs* to the area.

The early travel literature and other available descriptions of Lake Memphremagog produced in the mid-1800s focus on this picturesque landscape. Shortly after the launch of the *Mountain Maid* in 1850, a description of a day trip on the steamer appeared in the *Stanstead Journal* wherein the author described the 'natural beauties' as well as the 'feminine beauties' of the excursion. Included within the description, he wrote "[t]he scenery about 'Owl's Head' struck me as awful in its sublimity [sic], and is worth a page of description. Then there were the beautiful and highly cultivated farms along the shores of the Lake, indicative of the skill and industry of their thriving occupants."[45] The article is significant for its demonstration of the characteristics of the Lake in 1850, at the beginnings of *villégiature* in the area and, in particular, what characteristics were most valued.

Into the early 1860s, published travel guides that included the Lake Memphremagog area generally focused on the mountains of the Western shore, wooded hills of the Eastern shore and occasionally noted the attractive farmland. Dix's *Handbook for Lake Memphremagog,* dated from around 1864, chiefly details the natural and wild scenery while making brief mention of the "upland being dotted with farms and pretty dwellings" and of Georgeville being "a pretty rural village" with "handsome dwellings".[46] In Trollope's *North America*, from 1862, his brief time on the Lake also focuses on the natural landscape.[47] Into the latter part of the 1860s, much of the literature

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[45] "Pleasure Trip on Lake Memphremagog," *Stanstead Journal*, 10 October 1850.
[46] Dix, *A Hand Book*, 14, 47.
[47] Trollope, *North America*, Chapter 4.

continued to focus on the undeveloped views.[48] However, as summer estates were built up along the lakeshore, their presence was the first step in a long process that would forever change the view from the lake.

It was not long after the arrival of the Montrealers on Lake Memphremagog that the estates began to make their appearance in contemporary publications. Among the first mentions of the estates appears in Burt's *Illustrated Guide of the Connecticut Valley*, published in 1866. He makes many of the typical remarks about the lake, such as noting the "grand and inspiring" scenery, but also comments on the "splendid" summer residences of wealthy Montreal men.[49] While Burt's note on the estates is brief, it was demonstrative of the developing trend to feature the impressive estates in descriptions of lakeshore scenery. In later literature, the country houses often feature more prominently. *Car Window Glimpses,* published by Quebec Central Railway in the 1880s, features a relatively brief description of Lake Memphremagog's natural attributes but includes a line about the "handsome summer homes" that can be seen, along with a prominent sketch of Sir Hugh's 'villa' as seen from the lake.[50] The 1882 *Picturesque Canada* also includes Sir Hugh in its detail of the Lake, "Yonder, on the opposite headland, is that old sea-king's Chateau [*Belmere*]; for, in the swelter of summer, it was his custom to rest here from the care of his fleets, and brace his nerves with 'the wine of mountain air.'"[51]

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[48] Other travel guides featuring descriptions of Lake Memphremagog are H. B. Small, *The Canadian Handbook and Tourist's Guide Giving a Description of Canadian Lake and River Scenery and Places of Historical Interest,* (Montreal: M. Longmoore & Co., 1866) and Burt, *Burt's Illustrated Guide of the Connecticut Valley.*

[49] Burt, *Illustrated Guide of the Connecticut Valley,* 191-203.

[50] Quebec Central Railway, *Car Window Glimpses en Route to Quebec by Daylight via Quebec Central Railway*, (ca. 1881; reprint, Sherbrooke, Que.: Page-Sangster, 1952), Anna Lebaron fonds, P022, Eastern Townships Resource Centre, Sherbrooke, Quebec.

[51] George Munro Grant, ed., *Picturesque Canada; The Country As It W as and Is*, vol. 2, (Toronto: Belden Bros., 1882), 693-4.

Perhaps the most interesting commentary describing the general scene of the grand estates from the lake comes from a newspaper article, wherein the writer observes that "[t]his is now the charming part of the lake. Nature has done her part well and man is now aiding to make the picture fascinating. Let all who wish to see wealth and beauty enjoying nature in the most pleasant and agreeable way."[52] In these three sentences, the writer was able to sum up one of the significant effects the country estates had on the view from the lake; part of the Lake's tourist appeal was redirected from natural scenery and quaint farmland to the lavish estates and country houses along the shore. As seen above, this redirection is evidenced by the changing descriptions in the tourist literature in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The increasing numbers of *villégiateurs* that purchased lakeshore property into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially as the rising middle class became better able to afford summer cottages, had another significant effect on the landscape of the lake. They were also the first phases in a process called 'exploitation encirclement', as described by Jan Lundgren, which has effected the major lakes in the Eastern Townships. In the process of exploitation encirclement, tourist real estate development around a lake – in such forms as cottages, estates and condominiums – eventually leads to the almost complete elimination of public access to the lake and contributes extensively to the "ecological impairment of the natural lakeshore".[53] Although this process took

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[52] "Memphremagog," *Sherbrooke Gazette*, 10 September 1864.

[53] Jan O. Lundgren, "The Tourism Development Process in the Eastern Townships- The Changing Tourist Product Composition," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* 8 (1996): 5-24. J. I. Little's article, "Scenic Tourism", also addresses the changes along Lake Memphremagog's lakeshore. In particular, he identifies logging and real estate development as the principle causes of the deterioration of the lake's natural and romantic scenery (735-6).

over a century to complete in the case of Lake Memphremagog, it has its origins in the first summer estates of wealthy Montreal businessmen.

4.4 Conclusion

Upper-class ideas of romanticism and the picturesque greatly informed the elite's pursuit of *villégiature* in mid-nineteenth century Quebec. In particular, the Romantic Movement encouraged Montreal's upper-class to escape the confines of the industrializing city and seek out refuge and rejuvenation in natural surroundings. As has been demonstrated above, the appreciation of the picturesque, the sublime and wilderness influenced their choice of Lake Memphremagog for their summer destination. These principles also played a major role in the architectural styles and landscaping of their summer estates. This chapter has also shown that the Montrealers generally selected styles with the dual aim of reflecting nature's beauty and displaying their privileged status. In the end, however, their migration to the lake was the first step in a process that would eventually detract from the qualities that had originally attracted them to this place and would forever change the lake.

CHAPTER V
A DAY IN THE LIFE: SOCIAL INTERACTIONS OF THE *VILLÉGIATEURS*

As seen above, romanticism strongly influenced the architectural and landscaping preferences of Lake Memphremagog's Montreal *villégiateurs*. Furthermore, it is evident that these preferences were linked to their upper-class social status. The extravagance of the Montrealers' estates and the integration of historical references into the architectural styles were intended to demonstrate their wealth and prestige to others. Beyond this, their elite status also influenced the company they kept while at the lake. Using evidence from personal diaries and newspapers, this chapter will argue that while at Lake Memphremagog, the Montrealers spent most of their time socializing with fellow upper-class *villégiateurs* and participating in leisure activities that were in line with their social standing. This behaviour demonstrates a re-creation of their urban social sphere in the country. The following examination will also show that, nonetheless, sources suggest that although their interactions with the local community were largely economic-based, interactions between *villégiateurs* and locals were generally positive.

5.1 The social sphere of Montreal's upper class

As has been noted earlier, as a result of industrialization much of Montreal's upper class in the nineteenth century came from 'new money' but used their resources to suggest being from 'old money', or landed gentry.[1] The upper class set themselves apart through material assets but also did so in less tangible ways.

[1] MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings," 205-14.

By the turn of the century, almost all of Montreal's wealthiest families were related by blood or marriage. For example, the Allans, Anguses, Merediths, McKenzies, Patersons, Cowans, Stephens, Rosses, Gaults and Molsons were all connected.[2] Family networks were a key factor in building wealth in an industrial capitalist society and also ensured that the upper class remained a close-knit and relatively small group.[3] Strict rules of etiquette also served to distinguish the upper class from others. Strong beliefs in such things as order, moderation, bodily control and the importance of exercise governed their social activities. In particular, the women of Montreal's upper class were expected to organize servants and devote time to religious and charitable organizations while spending much of their time calling on friends, receiving visitors and hosting dinner parties.[4] Given the importance of these urban social ties and practices, it is not surprising that they are evident in the activities and social interactions of the Montrealers during their time at the lakeshore, as will be seen below.[5]

The *Stanstead Journal* does provide some insight into the activities of the summer residents but a wealth of information comes from personal diaries written by Edythe Allan. While a significant amount of information for this chapter is taken from Edythe's diaries, nothing indicates that her experience was not representative of other Lake Memphremagog summer residents. Her social background as a member of one of Montreal's most prominent families meant that her upper-class upbringing was very

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[2] Westley, *Remembrance of Grandeur*, 24-5.
[3] Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 125-133.
[4] Westley, *Remembrance of Grandeur*, 34-8, 54-7.
[5] Additionally, it should be noted that women occupied a prominent place in the summer social sphere. Typically, they spent a greater amount of time at the summer estates than their husbands, who had business responsibilities in the city and could only spend a few weeks or, as travel became faster, most weekends at the lake. In comparison, it was not uncommon for women and children to spend the majority of the summer season at the lake.

similar to other *villégiateurs* and that they would have had similar values. Furthermore, the majority of her diary entries describing her summer activities contain mentions of the names of other *villégiateurs*. These details make it reasonable to consider Edythe's experiences, as shown through her diary entries, to be generally representative of the activities of other *villégiateurs* who summered at Lake Memphremagog.

Figure 5.1 – Edythe Allan Routledge, ca. 1900

Source: Unknown, "Edythe Routledge," (Stanstead Historical Society).

5.2 Edythe Allan Routledge

Given the prominent place Edythe Allan holds in the exploration of the social activities of Memphremagog *villégiateurs,* it is essential to begin this discussion with some background biographical information. Born in 1864 and the second youngest daughter of Sir Hugh's thirteen children, Edythe grew up spending summers at *Belmere*

with her siblings and parents. Even though Sir Hugh and Lady Allan died while Edythe was still in her late teens, she continued to summer at the lake with her sisters. Reports in the *Stanstead Journal* suggest that at least a portion of the Allan family spent summers at *Belmere* from the time it was purchased until the late 1880s. Edythe later returned to *Belmere* the summer before her marriage to James T. Routledge in September 1892.[6] Then, in 1893, Edythe purchased the estate from her siblings.[7]

For the first few years of their marriage, Edythe and Jim, as he was called, divided their time between his Alberta ranch in the winter and *Belmere* in the summer.[8] After Jim was injured in a series of serious accidents, the couple made *Belmere* their permanent home.[9] Jim and Edythe had two children, Allan in 1895 and James C. in 1900. In late November 1899, Jim Routledge committed suicide while Edythe, then pregnant with James C., and Allan were visiting her sister in Ontario.[10] Following his death, Edythe and her two sons continued to live at *Belmere* and it was where Edythe would spend the rest of her life until her death in 1946. Allan was killed in action during World War I and it was James (also known as Jim) that inherited *Belmere*.

Although Edythe would eventually become a permanent resident of Lake Memphremagog, her upbringing was firmly rooted in the upper-class culture of elite Montreal. As will be seen, her activities and social circle continued to reflect the

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[6] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 24 July 1892.
[7] Province of Quebec, Stanstead Land Registers, Vol. 37, no. 1393, "Allan children to Edythe Allan," 23 August 1893.
[8] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 15 September 1892; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 3 November 1892 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 5 April 1893.
[9] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 21 May 1896; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 28 May 1896; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 4 June 1896; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 1 April 1897; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 24 June 1897 and Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 1896, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.
[10] "Inquest on Late Jas. T. Routledge," *Sherbrooke Examiner*, 29 November 1899; "Georgeville," *Sherbrooke Examiner*, 29 November 1899 and "Georgeville," *Le Progres de l'Est* (Sherbrooke), 28 November 1899.

priorities and affluence that were attributed to the upper class. Likewise, these characteristics are also evident in the lives of other second-generation summer residents, such as the children of Alexander Molson and John Murray.

5.3 Tea and tennis on Lake Memphremagog

5.3.1 Summer social life on the lake

Although detailed information on the specific social activities of the Montrealers from the early period of this analysis, from the 1860s to the 1890s, is sparse, available newspaper accounts present a group whose social interactions were often focused on their elite acquaintances. The possession of a country house was admired as a symbol of wealth among the upper class and, thus, was a natural destination for one's visitors. Among the famous visitors given a tour of the lake was Prince Arthur in 1870, who came to *Belmere* as Allan's guest, and was accompanied by Canada's Governor General, Lord Lisgar (Sir John Young).[11] Lord Lisgar made another visit to the Lake in 1871 and the following Governor General, the Earl of Dufferin, also sojourned with the Allans at *Belmere* in 1878. In 1883, Canon DuMoulin visited as a guest of Alexander Molson.[12] While there is no doubt that business played a role in these visits, leisure activities were also at the forefront of the agenda: "Lord Lisgar and party are enjoying the hospitalities of Sir Hugh Allan, at his palatial summer residence at Belmere. Sir Hugh's yacht, gay with flags, is seen almost daily passing up and down the Lake."[13] The *Stanstead Journal*

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[11] *Stanstead Journal,* 16 June 1870 and *Stanstead Journal,* 23 June 1870.
[12] *Stanstead Journal,* 7 September 1871; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 22 August 1878 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal*, 16 August 1883.
[13] *Stanstead Journal*, 7 September 1871.

and Edythe's diary entries also commonly featured mentions of other visitors to the estates, such as friends and relatives of W. A. Murray or of the Allan family.

Figure 5.2 – Leisure on the lake, Hugh Allan's yacht, ca. 1867

Source: William Notman, "Allan's Yacht," (Stanstead Historical Society).

Beyond the special visitors the Montrealers brought to their county estates, their everyday social activities revolved around other members of the upper class that summered on Lake Memphremagog. In Edythe's diary entries, social outings were frequent and, in the summer, largely focused on members of the Murray and Molson families but mention other influential Montreal families, such as the Colbys, Redpaths and Stephens. Her mentions of social gatherings that include individuals outside of the upper class are very infrequent. The predominance of the Murrays and Molsons in Edythe's diaries at the turn of the century can be partly explained through the

comparatively long relationship these families had with each other as the earliest and most permanent Montreal summer families at the lake. The Allans' younger children were close in age to the children of Alexander Molson and John Murray and it is reasonable to imagine that they would have spent much time together in the summer.[14]

While the focus of this study is predominantly on the elite Montreal *villégiateurs* of Lake Memphremagog, it should be noted that the Montrealers did not restrict their social interaction only to other Montrealers or even only to Canadians. From Edythe's diary accounts, it appears that the *villégiature* community included Canadians, Americans as well as *villégiateurs* who stayed in boarding houses or cottages. Beyond members of the Molson and Murray families, Edythe's entries regularly report social activities involving Americans, such as the Sheriffs, Wards and Sanfords.[15] The evidence suggests that the two unifying traits that permitted inclusion into Lake Memphremagog's *villégiature* community were upper-class social status and a generally persistent presence at the lake.

As the Allans, Molsons and Murrays grew up, their own children that still visited the Lake also socialized together in the summers. As in the city, their social activities often consisted of afternoon tea or an evening get-together but could also consist of activities more specific to the summer season, such as picnics, steamboat excursions or trips to Newport or Magog. References to such events are strewn throughout Edythe's diary entries during the summer months: "Went to Margaret Murrays [sic] birthday picnic

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[14] Despite the close social circle created by the Montrealers at Lake Memphremagog, there were no intermarriages among the principal *villégiateur* families.

[15] In the case of Edythe Routledge, there was one general exception to the inclusive nature of *villégiateur* interaction; her diary entries contain almost no mention of social activities including the campers that were most closely connected to the S. J. Barrows' group. Unfortunately, the sources consulted for this study do not allow for an explanation of this occurrence but it may have been simply that the two groups' interests were too divided for there to have been enough common ground on which to form a social relationship.

in their woods."[16], "[h]ad tea with Grace Murray"[17], "Mrs. Sheriff and Mrs. Murray up to lunch sat out the big house in p.m. back here to tea in p.m. All Sanfords came up, also Kate Sheriff & the A.P. Murrays."[18] Other activities, such as bonfires and dances were less common, but were also occasionally part of the summer social scene.[19] Even more prominent in the diaries, however, is the numerous references to sports and similar outdoor activities.

5.3.2 Sports and outdoor activity

Given the importance of physical activity among the upper class, it is not surprising that sports played a prominent role in their summer pastimes. The significant health benefits they attributed to fresh air and water is also evident in the amount of time they spent outside. While in the city, warm weather outdoor activities often consisted of promenades through the neighbourhood and tennis lawn parties but, at the lakeshore, the list greatly expanded to include bathing, golfing, fishing, gardening, hiking, horseback riding and all forms of boating. The pursuit of sporting activities was, of course, not limited only to upper-class summer residents on Lake Memphremagog; there is no doubt that the local community and all levels of social classes pursued them as well. However, with significantly less leisure time and less disposable income available to the locals, their ability to engage in these types of activities was greatly reduced. As a result, the notion of physical activity as a form of leisure was largely limited to the upper and upper middle classes.

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[16] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 13 June 1908, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.
[17] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 10 July 1906, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.
[18] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 25 June 1905, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.
[19] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 25 August 1905, 9 August 1907, 10 August 1907, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.

Outdoor activities were rarely mentioned in the social notes of the *Stanstead Journal;* however, there were occasional reports on collective, community events such as boat races or regattas, picnics and steamboat excursions. For example, in 1883: "Several gentlemen at the 'Camperdown' got up a boat race for ladies which came off on Thursday 30th ult., the water being very smooth",[20] and, in 1912, "The annual regatta of the Memphremagog Yacht Club took place yesterday [...]".[21] Although infrequent, the newspaper reports nonetheless allude to the prominent place that sporting and outdoor activities occupied: "The attractions are: Out-of-door life, boating, bathing, rambles in the woods and fishing" and, even in December, the correspondent reported that "[b]oating is still a favourite pastime here. Who would go to Florida when one may bask in the balmy breezes off Lake Memphremagog".[22]

Conversely, Edythe's diaries provide a detailed picture of the prominent role that sports and physical activity played in the daily lives of upper-class *villégiateurs*. During the summer, weather permitting, bathing typically took place a few times a week and was especially common when Allan and Jim were older as a social activity: "[b]oys went to bathing party at Murrays [...]".[23] Notably, bathing was not just pursued as a leisure activity but also a form of physical training: "Allan [age 13] swam from ½ way beach on Island to bathing house", "Allan swam from lighthouse in 33 minutes. Went up in 'Vesper' [boat] & I rowed beside him".[24]

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[20] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 6 September 1883.
[21] "Regatta at Lake Park," *Stanstead Journal*, 22 August 1912. Similar to Georgeville, Lake Park was a destination for summer vacationers on the eastern shore of Lake Memphremagog, not far from the American border.
[22] "Lake Park Items," *Stanstead Journal*, 25 July 1889 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 8 December 1910.
[23] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 11 July 1912, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.
[24] Ibid., 24 July 1908.

Lawn tennis also featured prominently in Edythe's writings as a summer activity. "Played 2 sets Tennis with children [...]",[25] "Mrs. Devine, Keith Handyside and Miss MacDuff spent afternoon here and stayed to high tea, bathed and played Tennis",[26] "Allan went to Tennis party in 'Vesper' at Sheriffs",[27] "Annabella and two Miss Smithers landed here at 2 p.m. from Lady [of the Lake] played Tennis and boys bathed and all here to tea".[28] Fishing and boating were other common summer pastimes among *villégiateurs* at Lake Memphremagog. Some examples appearing in Edythe's diaries included "Lonie & I fished in a.m.",[29] "We went out in 'Vesper' after tea had a lovely run",[30] "Fished in eve off wharf had Agnes to tea caught 30 perch"[31] and "[We] have had a most delightful summer here, so much pleasure with the 'Chinook' [...]"[32]

As indicated by the above excerpts, these activities were pursued by all ages. Adults played tennis and fished with their children as well as amongst themselves while the younger *villégiateurs* also held tennis parties and tournaments, which again emphasizes the importance of competitive sports, especially for boys, within upper-class culture.[33] In addition to the significantly greater amount of time summer residents were able to commit to outdoor activities, they were also able to pursue a greater variety of activities as a result of their wealth, such as the use of bicycles: "The bicycle has made its first appearance in the streets of Georgeville and as its rider (a summer visitor) is an adept in

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[25] Ibid., 15 August 1907.
[26] Ibid., 25 June 1909.
[27] Ibid., 6 July 1910.
[28] Ibid., 14 July 1911.
[29] Ibid., 22 August 1896.
[30] Ibid., 2 July 1909.
[31] Ibid., 12 July 1910.
[32] Letter, Edythe M. Routledge to William A. Murray, 4 September 1903, William A. Murray Collection, private collection, Georgeville, Quebec.
[33] Westley highlights the importance of competitive sports and exercise for boys in *Rememberance of Grandeur,* 55.

the art of bicycling, it excites considerable curiosity".[34] However, more notable was their possession of, first, steam-powered boats and, later, gasoline-powered boats.

The Molsons, the Murrays and the Allans owned commercial and pleasure boats that operated on Lake Memphremagog, while the majority of the other early Montreal summer residents had some sort of pleasure yacht.[35] For pleasure, Sir Hugh owned the impressive *Orford*, which featured prominently in photographs of the *Belmere* estate and was a fixture on the lake until after Sir Hugh's death in 1882.[36] In the early years, Alexander Molson owned the *Fairy*, a "dainty little steamer [...] for family convenience, to ply around the islands and inlets [...]".[37] Similarly, the Murrays owned pleasure yachts, but W. A. Murray, John Murray's son and eventual inheritor of *Dunkeld*, also used Lake Memphremagog to test out his own designs for gasoline- and steam-powered engines.[38] The ownership of these boats, for business and pleasure, set *villégiateurs* apart from the less wealthy permanent residents of the Lake and indicated their upper-class social status.

Afternoon teas, tennis, bathing and boating constituted much of the social pursuits of the Lake Memphremagog *villégiateurs* during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although many of these pastimes were pursued by permanent residents, for economic reasons they were not able to partake in them to the extent and with the same

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[34] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 10 July 1884.
[35] The Molsons owned the *Water Witch*, a steamboat for carrying passengers and cargo around Lake Memphremagog ("Memphremagog," *Sherbrooke Gazette,* 10 September 1864). The Murrays and the Allans held shares in the Lake Memphremagog Navigation Company, which owned and operated several ferries and tugboats on the lake, such as the *Lady of the Lake* and the *Nora* (John M. Mills, "The New Mills List," Marine Museum of the Great Lakes at Kingston, last modified 2011, http://db.library.queensu.ca/marmus/mills/index.html).
[36] *Stanstead Journal*, 7 September 1871.
[37] "Memphremagog," *Sherbrooke Gazette,* 10 September 1864.
[38] William A. Murray Collection, Private collection, Georgeville, Quebec. W. A. Murray and fellow Montrealer as well as Lake Memphremagog summer resident, Miles L. Williams, owned Murray & Williams, a company that manufactured steam and gasoline engines in the late 1890s and early 1900s.

frequency as the Montrealers were able to. Furthermore, as indicated by Edythe's diaries and local newspapers, the *villégiateurs* of Lake Memphremagog appear to have limited their social interactions largely to fellow *villégiateurs,* those from their own social class. As a result, the relations between *villégiateurs* and the local residents tended to be largely of an economic nature.

5.4 Economic relations: *villégiateurs* and permanent residents meet

For the most part, *villégiateurs* kept their social interactions limited to other members of the upper class but interacted frequently with the local residents for economic reasons. They purchased goods from local farmers and merchants, hired them for various services and, sometimes, employed them year-round to tend to their estates. The primary source material suggests that this economic relationship between *villégiateurs* and local residents was generally a positive one.

The Montrealers' economic relationship with local Lake Memphremagog residents began with the purchase of the latter's lakeside farms and property. Then, after the Montrealers built their country houses and settled in for the summers, they employed local residents as farmhands. Additionally, they rented their farms out to local couples to live on the property year-round and tend to it, which was essential when they could not be at their estate for much of the year. Beyond tending to the care of the animals, the farmhands were responsible for the maintenance of the estates, such as keeping the driveways open in the winter, as well as cutting ice from the lake for the ice houses.[39] The Allans first employed Robert Parker and his wife as farmers at *Belmere* and then,

[39] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 3 January 1905, 10 January 1905, 17 January 1905, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.

after Sir Hugh's death, they became tenants; the Parkers lived at *Belmere* for 26 years, until Edythe Allan and her husband moved to the estate.[40] Newspaper reports appearing in the *Stanstead Journal* suggest that the Molsons also had at least one person living at *Fern Hill* year-round: "The farm building of Alexander Molson at Fern Hill had a narrow escape from destruction by fire one night last week. The occupant awoke to find the kitchen part in flames [...]".[41] A report from 1885 stating that both the Molsons and the Lindsays, another *villégiateur* family, had new farmers also indicates the presence of hired farmers for the summer estates.[42] Unfortunately, however, in cases such as these, it is impossible to know if local residents were hired by the Molsons and Lindsays, since no names are mentioned.

During spring, summer and fall, the estates required numerous labourers to keep everything in order. There were crops to be planted, tended and harvested as well as the vast amount of manpower that was necessary to keep the flower gardens, lawns, etc. looking pristine. Edythe kept detailed information on those she employed at *Belmere* in her diary entries, which show that there were typically two to five men working at the estate at any given time. They worked in the fields, with the animals, rolled and grated the driveways, cut the lawns as well as repaired buildings, cut wood for the winter and tended to vegetable gardens.[43] Families with large yachts also employed captains to pilot them around the lake and to keep up with the maintenance and repairs of the vessels. The Allans employed Miron Browley as captain of the *Orford* until the yacht was eventually

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[40] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 21 July 1892 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 21 April 1894.
[41] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 20 February 1896. It should be noted that those employed to care for the estates and/or their farms during the year typically resided in the farm houses of the estates, and not the large summer houses.
[42] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 25 June 1885.
[43] For examples of the tasks performed by the labourers at *Belmere* see: Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 22 September 1896, 20 January 1905, 4 June 1907, 7 August 1908, 4 July 1910, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.

sold in 1886.[44] The Allans also hired local resident Ezra Bigelow as engineer for the *Orford.*[45] Additionally, summer families sought out local residents for services such as doing their laundry and for medical assistance.[46] While Lake Memphremagog *villégiateurs* also hired servants for cooking, cleaning and childcare, it is difficult to determine for certain if these individuals were predominantly from Montreal or if they were local residents. However, information obtained from the primary sources suggests that, particularly in the earlier years, they were often from the city or other parts of Quebec and Ontario.[47]

From the time when the Montrealers and other *villégiateurs* began summering at Lake Memphremagog, they required extensive local resources to construct and maintain their lavish properties. In many cases, their summer houses, wharves and outbuildings were constructed by builders from the area. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth, the most popular local builders were Nathan A. Beach and James E. Davidson. Some of Davidson's contracts included a lawn tennis ground for the Mudges, an addition to E. G. Penny's summer house, a boathouse at *Glenbrook* and the Molson's *Fern Hill* was "entirely remodelled and renovated in readiness for the summer"

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[44] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 25 June 1885; John Lovell, *Lovell's Canadian Dominion Directory for 1871*, (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871), 988; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 23 May 1878 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 27 May 1875.

[45] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 10 July 1884.

[46] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 20 August 1896, 15 September 1896, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec; Lovell, *Lovell's Canadian Dominion Directory for 1871*, 988. Edythe's earlier diary entries contain regular mentions of bringing her washing to local women and, in 1871, Sophia Williamson was listed in the Georgeville section as 'laundress'. Dr. W. Keyes was the doctor serving the Georgeville area for the latter nineteenth century and early 20th century.

[47] Edythe Routledge mentions interviewing a possible cook from Montreal (Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 20 August 1896, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec) and other individuals identified suggest employees were often non-residents of the Lake Memphremagog area ("Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 10 August 1882); "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 1 September 1892). Furthermore, in *Remembrance of Grandeur,* Westley states that the upper class saw the ability to bring one's city servants with them to their country houses as indicative of greater wealth than those who hired locals (96).

by Davidson.[48] Similarly, Beach was hired to repair and renovate the farm house at *Belmere* and to build a pier at *Glenbrook*, among other projects.[49] Additionally, the material resources needed for such renovations created further economic ties to local industries such as lumber mills: "The timber has been drawn for the new wharf and boat-house to be built for the accommodation of Mr. E. G. Penny's new 10 h.p. gasoline launch [boat] [...]".[50] Similarly, the *Stanstead Journal* reported that "large quantities of lumber" had been drawn to John Murray's property to build his luxurious home, *Dunkeld*.[51]

The *villégiateurs* also purchased supplies, such as produce and wares, from local businesses during their sojourn on Lake Memphremagog. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth, various goods could be purchased in Magog and Newport as well as from Georgeville's general stores, such as that run by Hazen Bullock.[52] Fresh produce, meat and eggs that *villégiateurs* did not have from their own estates could be purchased from the numerous farms in the area. Edythe Routledge's diaries give evidence of this interaction. Her entries indicate this through her careful record of all money she spent or received and include entries such as "ordered 6 hot bed frames/sashes from Martin in Magog [...]" and "[g]ot 4 ½ lbs beef from Rediker"[53] Even then, however, because of the farms on their estates, some of their economic interactions

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[48] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 7 July 1892; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 4 June 1903; quote: "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 8 April 1909 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 28 October 1909. The Mudges were related to the Murrays; Isabella Murray and Katherine Mudge were sisters.
[49] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 26 September 1895 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 8 March 1900.
[50] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 1 March 1906.
[51] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 30 June 1880.
[52] Lovell, *Lovell's Canadian Dominion Directory for 1871*, 988; *The Canada directory for 1857-58*, 153.
[53] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 13 January 1905, 3 June 1911, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.

were with other *villégiateurs*: "[g]ot 19lbs veal from Molsons" and in 1906 she sold a filly to Sadie Murray, John Murray's niece.[54]

Furthermore, the jobs created as a result of the overall seasonal tourists to Lake Memphremagog should not be over-looked. The presence of summer residents and other tourists meant that a number of steam ferries plied the waters of Lake Memphremagog in the summer and boarding houses and hotels operated in the area, none of which would have existed without the *villégiateurs.* Throughout most of the latter part of the nineteenth century, there were multiple steam boats operating on Lake Memphremagog to ferry people, luggage and supplies around the lake. When the railway reached Magog, the schedule for the large passenger ferries were timed to meet the daily arrival and departure of the train.[55] An 1877 observer described it well in writing that "[s]teamers are getting numerous on the lake. It is a wonder where all their business comes from. The Lady [of the Lake] blossoms about every other day, in excursion parties. She is well patronized this season in that respect. People are getting to know the value of relaxation from the cares of business on the beautiful Memphremagog. The Montrealers are getting out to their old haunts about the lake."[56]

The *Stanstead Journal* gives evidence of numerous boarding houses and private houses, where local residents opened up their homes to tourists during the summer, operating in and around Georgeville. The Georgeville correspondent often reported on the boarding houses in notes about the presence of summer visitors: "There are an unusual number visitors now in our village. –Mr. Hoadley, of the Camperdown [Hotel], is overrun; the boarding houses are all full and the private houses are also well filled

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[54] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 31 May 1905, 14 July 1906, Stanstead Historical Society.
[55] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 25 June 1885.
[56] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 26 July 1877.

[...]".[57] Furthermore, various hotels, though some short-lived, also catered to tourists throughout this period, including Chateau Dasilva, the Camperdown and the Mountain House.[58] For the most part, the boarding houses and hotels were operated by locals and would have provided employment for other local residents as cooks, maids and labourers.

From the above discussion, it is clear that while the *villégiateurs* of Lake Memphremagog did not frequently associate with the local residents on a social level, they were strongly linked through their economic relationships. During their time at the lake, *villégiateurs*, especially those with summer estates, relied on locals for labour, services and goods. Notably, this reliance was reciprocal, since many local residents benefited significantly from the jobs that were created by the presence of the *villégiateurs* in the area.[59] Although the majority of the interactions between *villégiateurs* and local residents were of an economic nature, there were certain activities and situations where the two groups interacted socially.

5.5 Inclusive community activities

As the Montreal *villégiateurs* became a permanent fixture on the shores of Lake Memphremagog, there were an increased number of social activities through which the summer residents and the permanent residents mixed. These activities included community events such as church and charity events, dances and concerts as well as events hosted by *villégiateurs* that included the broader community. The interactions

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[57] Quote appears in "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 28 July 1887. Other references include "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 22 July 1880; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 19 June 1884; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 9 July 1885; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 1 August 1889.
[58] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 13 August 1874; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 27 May 1875; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 5 August 1875 and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 23 May 1878.
[59] The primary sources used for this study do not indicate any significant negative economic consequences from the presence of the *villégiateurs*. J. I. Little describes a similar observation in his article on the nineteenth-century hotels and tourism on Lake Memphremagog (Little, "Scenic Tourism," 716-742).

demonstrate the boundaries of the *villégiateur* community, showing that they developed some cordial relationships with local residents over time.

In the early years after their arrival, it appears that much of the social interaction between *villégiateurs* and local residents was limited to attending church services together at St. George's Anglican Church in Georgeville.[60] This very limited interaction with local residents, along with the nature of the reports published in the *Stanstead Journal*, suggests that the *villégiateurs* adhered closely to the careful separation of the classes, almost entirely keeping their social interactions limited to fellow upper-class *villégiateurs*.

As time went on, and the *villégiateurs* became an established part of the lakeside communities, they began to take part in more social activities with local residents as well as host special events for the community. Inclusive community activities were most often dances or theatre presentations. Newspaper reports and entries from Edythe Routledge's diary show that village dances were occasions attended by both locals and *villégiateurs*. Edythe wrote of her sons' attendance at village dances and parties: "Allan went to party in village" and "Allan stayed at Murrays for dance in village".[61] Edythe also wrote, though infrequently, of her attendance to the Georgeville regatta.[62] Although regattas, which included boating competitions and, at times, elaborate boat decorations, can be considered inclusive community activities, it is probable the summer residents had a higher participation rate in these events as they had more resources (i.e. time, boats) to

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[60] *Stanstead Journal,* 7 September 1871; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 16 July 1874; "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 15 August 1878; and "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 14 August 1879.
[61] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 28 July 1906, 12 August 1914, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.
[62] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 26 July 1906 and Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 21 July 1906, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.

do so. Similarly, theatre presentations were special occasions during this time period and attended by *villégiateurs* and local residents. Mentions of attendance to concert performances, moving pictures and plays were included by the Georgeville correspondent to the *Stanstead Journal* as well as by Edythe in her diaries.[63] These public events offered both groups some, albeit still limited, opportunity to have contact with each other in a social setting. They do not, however, represent any real breakdown of the barriers that separated the social classes.[64]

The family names of those Edythe socialized with and recorded in her diary continued to be largely dominated by other summer visitors well into the twentieth century, including such names as the Molsons, Murrays, Sheriffs, Mudges, Capons, MacDuffs, Sanfords, Pennys and Redpaths. The limitations of this social sphere are also represented by the establishment of the Hermitage Country Club in 1912. Founded largely by Montrealers who frequented Lake Memphremagog in the summer, membership to the club was exclusive and upon invitation only.[65] In speaking of Pointe Claire as a summer tourist destination, Brian Matthews writes that "few could afford the expense or the time away from their jobs to indulge in summer fun, and those who could were intent on maximum enjoyment of their privileged status." He posits that member-only clubs were able to offer the upper class the types of recreation they were seeking,

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[63] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 23 August 1883; "Magoon's Point," *Stanstead Journal,* 16 August 1914; "Magoon's Point," *Stanstead Journal,* 22 June 1916; and Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 19 July 1911, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.

[64] Brian R. Matthews, in his book *A History of Pointe-Claire,* (Pointe-Claire, Que.: Brianor, 1985), describes the close supervision of upper-class women by male relatives during summer social activities that were outside of what was considered respectable and appropriate for ladies, such as regattas (121). Given the summer families of Pointe-Claire were also from Montreal's upper class, it is likely that the girls and women of Lake Memphremagog summer families would have been under similar supervision, limiting the amount of intermingled that occurred between local and summer residents during events, such as theater performances, etc.

[65] Robert P. Jellett, *History of the Hermitage County Club,* (Montreal: n.p., 1961), 9-17, 126-135.

which helps to explain their emergence.[66] Moreover, the establishment and early members list of the Hermitage County Club on Lake Memphremagog suggests that the *villégiateur* community remained relatively exclusive.

Significantly, the role of upper-class women in the city to participate in charity organizations was extended to their summer homes. This is shown through the Lake Memphremagog *villégiateur* women's involvement in fund-raising activities for the local community. In 1898, Mrs. John Murray collected $112.50 for families that had suffered damage from a fire and had no insurance.[67] Similarly, during the Great War, ladies contributed to the Young Ladies Patriotic Club that had been organized in Georgeville to help the war effort; Ella Molson donated five dollars, Amy Lindsay donated two dollars and Mrs. W. A. Murray donated one dollar.[68] From another newspaper report describing a fundraising tea organized by a summer resident and included local Georgeville ladies, it appears that the war effort served to unite the local and summer residents of Lake Memphremagog.[69] Overall, the charitable activities of the *villégiateurs* demonstrate both an extension of their expected social roles as determined by upper-class culture but, also, a level of concern for the local residents of their summer getaway.

The primary sources reveal that care and concern were shown by *villégiateurs* for the local residents, primarily their employees, in other ways as well. In June 1911, one of Edythe's long-time employees Robert Weston died accidentally after being struck on the head and falling into the lake. In preparation for his funeral, Edythe picked flowers for

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[66] Matthews, *A History of Pointe-Claire*, 110.
[67] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 14 August 1898.
[68] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 27 January 1916. Ella Molson was a daughter of Alexander Molson; Amy Lindsay a daughter of Robert Lindsay, owner of *Woodlands*; and Mrs. W. A. Murray was the wife of William Murray, son of John Murray.
[69] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 6 August 1914.

the service and also helped prepare Weston's body.[70] On other occasions, Edythe demonstrated a certain care for her employees by letting them use her boat or paying for their transportation for social outings: "Hired McLean with 3 seater to take servants to Ayer's Cliff $4.00 [...]".[71] The sources also reveal the appreciation the Murrays had for their employees: "Mr. and Mrs. W.A. Murray very generously entertained their employees with their wives and sweethearts at dinner on Friday night, after which they adjourned to McGowan Hall where music and refreshments were furnished by the host and hostess [...]".[72] These gestures indicate that the *villégiateurs*, in particular the second generation, developed positive relationships with the long-term employees at their estates, who were most often local residents.[73]

Furthermore, *villégiateurs* would occasionally host events for the community. In 1904, the *Stanstead Journal* reported that "Mrs. Routledge gave a general invitation to the village people to attend a sugaring off at the Belmere sugar place last Thursday and quite a number accepted the invitation. The sugar was very nice as was that which she kindly donated for the sugar social last Monday night".[74] Similarly, in 1919, Edythe and fellow *villégiateur,* Mrs. Ritchie, hosted a dance in Georgeville, which was attended by approximately 80 people.[75]

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[70] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 12-14 June 1911, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.
[71] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 25 August 1910, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec. For another examples, see Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 24 August 1907, 24 June 1911, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.
[72] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 14 October 1915.
[73] It should be noted that while the employees of the first generation of *villégiateurs* were from the Montreal as well as from the local area, the primary sources suggest that the second generation was more likely to employ locals at their estates. This was especially the case for those employed as farm hands.
[74] "Georgeville," *Stanstead Journal,* 14 April 1904.
[75] Edythe M. Routledge Diaries, 1 August 1919, Stanstead Historical Society, Stanstead, Quebec.

5.6 Conclusion

Given the nature of their activities and interactions, as noted above, the Montreal *villégiateurs* effectively recreated their urban social sphere when at their country houses. They continued to pursue many of the same activities with the same people while at the lake as they did when in the city. *Villégiateurs* continued to socialize chiefly with other *villégiateurs* that frequented Lake Memphremagog. Their day-to-day social activities revolved around pastimes, such as teas, boating and tennis, which were pursued with other members of the upper class. In contrast, the usual contact between *villégiateurs* and local residents was largely confined to economic interactions. Nevertheless, the majority of the sources suggest a positive relationship between *villégiateurs* and local residents of Lake Memphremagog during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This becomes increasingly apparent as time progressed and the two groups developed more of a familiarity with one another. The emergence over time of more personal social activities where *villégiateurs* and locals interacted, such as events hosted by *villégiateurs*, suggests that these long-term relationships allowed the estate-owning *villégiateurs* to develop a level of concern for the local residents of their summer home, Lake Memphremagog. Notably, however, these activities still allowed them to maintain the social barriers dictated by upper-class respectability.

CONCLUSION

As the twentieth century progressed, the composition of *villégiature* changed so that it was no longer dominated by the upper class's opulent expression of this practice. In their place, the rising middle class formed an increasingly large component of those practicing the 'art' of summer relaxation through tourism. This significant shift changed the nature of *villégiature* and, consequently, lavish resort hotels and grand summer estates were replaced with more simple cottages and camps. A greater number of areas, often much closer to urban centers, became popular *villégiature* destinations.[1] Lake Memphremagog was not immune to these changes and, with time, also witnessed the decline of the grand summer estates along the shoreline. Edythe Routledge was the last generation of Allans to have known *Belmere* as a summer home. For her one surviving son, Jim, it was the only permanent home he had ever known and under his care, many of the beautiful buildings fell into disrepair. Similarly, the generation following W. A. Murray kept *Dunkeld* as a primary residence, rather than a summer estate. Finally, in the case of *Fern Hill*, Ella Molson, daughter of Alexander, was the last Molson to retain the property as a summer residence.

When first setting out on this research venture, my goals were twofold: firstly, I wanted to understand the factors that brought wealthy Montrealers to Lake Memphremagog in the 1860s and, secondly, I wanted to know how their upper-class

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[1] This significant change in the nature of *villégiature* addressed by Samson, "La route des villégiateurs," 14-5. Gagnon-Pratte and Dubé make allusions to it as well, stating that the post-World War II era saw the deterioration of "l'architecture de *villégiature*" (Gagnon-Pratte and Dubé, "La Villa," 24). Dagenais goes further in her analysis of the post-WWI change. She argues that the massive loss of life during the war contributed to a shift in the way nature was viewed so that it was approached with more pragmatism as well as negativity (Dagenais, "Fuir la ville," 331-3). Bernard Genest's and Robin Renaud's research on tourist community at Little Lake Magog demonstrate the characteristics of *villégiature* that is primarily composed of upper middle class families (Genest, *Une saison au bord de l'eau* and Renaud, "Un charmant paradis," 79-105).

background affected the way they experienced leisure while at the lake. However, given the nature of the available sources and the limited quantity of firsthand information from the perspective of the Montreal *villégiateurs*, the analysis of their activities was expanded to include their interactions with the local residents. The resulting thesis has aspired to contribute to the existing discourse on the nature of *villégiature* in Quebec in two ways.

In the first way, the above analysis fits squarely in the historiography as it supports the importance of romanticism and contemporary notions of nature in influencing the way *villégiature* developed. More specifically, *villégiateurs* were attracted to Lake Memphremagog for its abundant picturesque views, such as the mountains that were spread along the western shore, as well as for its natural and rural (i.e. healthful) setting. The importance of this interpretation of Lake Memphremagog is seen through its inclusion in many of the travel diaries, tourist brochures and artwork produced in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

An examination of the country estates via photographs has shown that the influence of romanticism was also demonstrated through the architectural styles and landscaping preferred by the Montreal *villégiateurs.* Molson's and Allan's choice of irregular, picturesque and eclectic architectural design elements for *Fern Hill* and *Belmere* were intended to facilitate the occupants' commune with nature; a necessity for a summer escape. And, although Judge Day's *Glenbrook* was largely vernacular in style, it can be situated within the existing historiography as an example of an expression of the antimodernist sentiment that was a part of nineteenth-century upper-class thought. Likewise, the value they attributed to the landscape and scenery surrounding their estates

was conveyed through the large number of photographs they commissioned that depicted the 'wild' nature visible on and around their properties.

More significantly, however, by looking specifically at Montreal *villégiateurs* on Lake Memphremagog, this research has broadened our understanding of the role relationships had in the establishment of a summer community. By taking a closer look at the business interests as well as the family ties of the some of the early estate-owners, it was evident that they had undeniable business and social connections that brought them to the shores of this Eastern Townships lake. Despite being an important determining factor in the make-up of a *villégiature* community, this is a dynamic that has rarely been addressed in much of the historiography. There were a number of other picturesque locations across the province that these Montrealers could have chosen for their summer destinations, such as the popular Murray Bay in Charlevoix, and, yet, they chose Lake Memphremagog. Although other factors were at play, such as the region's distance from the city and availability of land, it is reasonable to postulate that such relationships were an important driving force in their choice of Lake Memphremagog over other areas given the clear business connections among most of the prominent Montreal *villégiateurs*.

Furthermore, we have determined that summer residents generally limited their social interactions to activities with other *villégiateurs*. Thus, the selection of a specific summer destination would have also been the selection of a specific social environment. From the earlier discussion, we also know that upper-class Montrealers were protective of their privileged social status and of the rigid moral standards that set them apart.[2] With this knowledge, it is reasonable to propose that the choice of a specific *villégiature*

[2] For instance, historians have demonstrated this through the emergence of rigid social customs and urban suburbs (Westley, *Remembrance of Grandeur,* 18-25; Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias,* 57-8).

community was in some measure based on the type of social and moral environment that existed there. In the case of Lake Memphremagog, the social and business relationships would have created a familiarity among the Montrealers, giving them knowledge of each others moral values and general interests. This familiarity possibly acted as an indication of the type of community that could be experienced there, therefore influencing their preference of Lake Memphremagog over other areas.

The goals and limits of this thesis required that the relationship dynamic in the establishment of summer communities was explored as a small part of the overall discussion of *villégiature* on Lake Memphremagog. However, detailed analysis into the role and function of business and social relationships in the development of *villégiature* communities would be a valuable avenue for further research in this area of Quebec history.

Secondly, the above study has contributed to the historiography by providing a more detailed discussion of the social and economic interactions among the *villégiateurs,* as well as between summer and local residents, which have not figured prominently in much of the existing literature. Given that upper-class culture profoundly affected all aspects of life for members of the elite, it is unsurprising that the elite status of the Lake Memphremagog *villégiateurs* significantly influenced their activities at the lake. This is observed through the types of activities they pursued, such as afternoon teas, lawn tennis, bathing and boating. As was established earlier, afternoon teas were a staple of upper-class, female culture while physical activity and capability were highly regarded as indicative of one's elite pedigree. Nonetheless, it has been useful to examine the

activities of the Lake Memphremagog *villégiateurs* so that we have a specific model demonstrating in what ways these principles influenced their pursuit of leisure.

Lastly, as seen above, the primary sources suggest that, over time, upper-class *villégiateurs* went from relatively little contact, most of it being purely functional, with local residents to having a level of familiarity with them. This shift can be at least partially attributed to the long history that many of the *villégiateur* families had at Lake Memphremagog. By the end of the nineteenth century, a number of them had grown up summering at the lake, giving them ample opportunity to get to know many of the local residents, even if much of their interaction remained at the economic level. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the second generation of Montreal *villégiateurs* were more likely to employ locals at their estates, which would have also contributed to this increased familiarity. Overall, the evidence suggests the social interactions between summer residents and local residents were generally positive. However, the nature of the social interaction between the two groups remained congruent with the practices of upper-class culture.

While it is no longer characterised by the extravagant country estates of the nineteenth century, *villégiature* has endured on Lake Memphremagog in a new form. Not limited to only the wealthiest of society; through the twentieth century, the middle and working classes have gradually been able to partake in it. The cottages and camping areas that emerged along the shores of Lake Memphremagog as a result of this change are one indication of the shift in the way *villégiature* was practiced. However, this shift did not come without a cost and much of the romantic beauty – the wild nature – that attracted the earliest *villégiateurs* to Lake Memphremagog has been replaced with

shoreline development. While the original *villégiateurs* would likely be taken aback by the significantly increased population, their romantic sensibilities would perhaps find admiration for the environmental awareness of their present-day counterparts. Concerned lakeside residents have come together within the last 40 years to form associations, such as Memphremagog Conservation Inc., aimed at the preservation and restoration of the environmental damage caused by the exploitation of the Lake Memphremagog.

Finally, the ways in which summer relaxation is practiced have evolved over time, having retained many of the nineteenth-century leisure pursuits (ex. canoeing, tennis, swimming, etc.) but also having added many others (ex. various motorized water crafts, water-skiing, tubing, etc.). Ultimately, however, through the twentieth century and now into the twenty-first century, the aim of *villégiature* has remained relatively constant: vacationing at a pleasurable location for the purpose of relaxation. Remarkably, all of the 'progress' of the present technological age has not meaningfully altered the fundamental purpose of *villégiature* as it emerged in Quebec almost 200 years ago.

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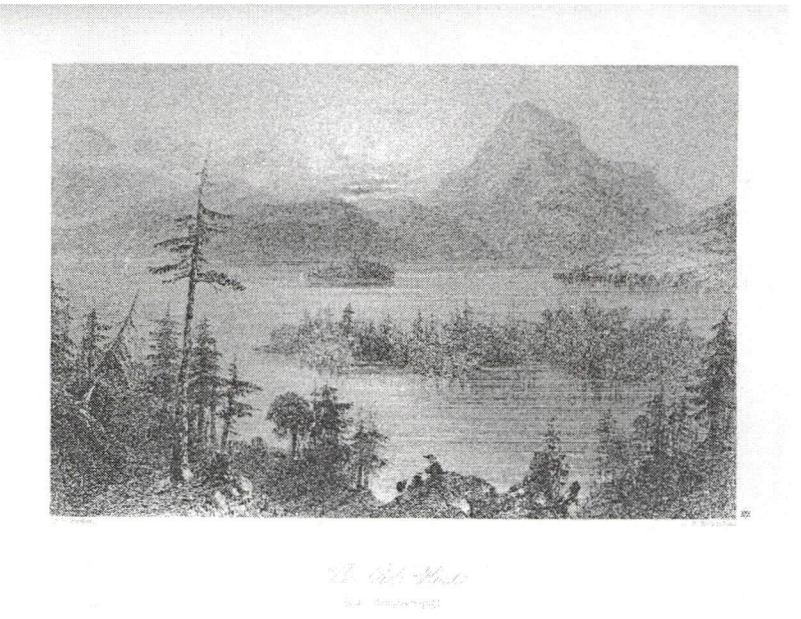
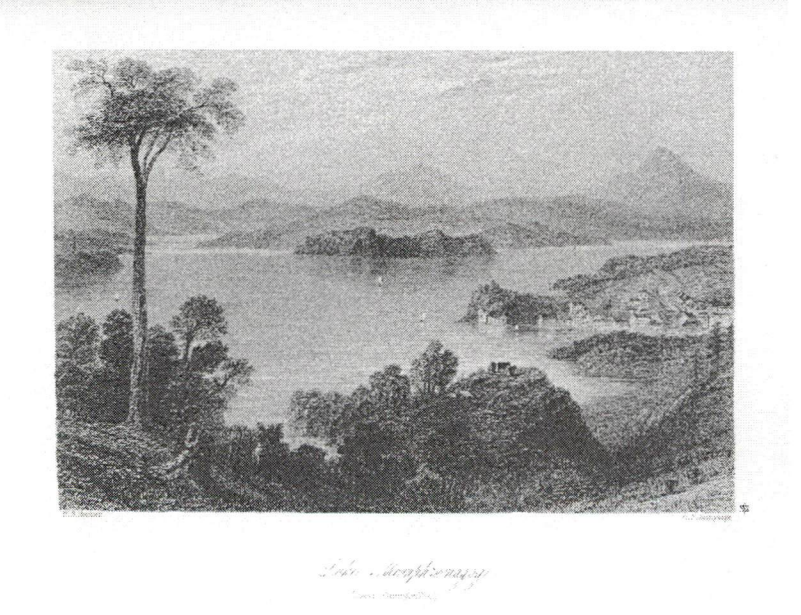
APPENDIX I:
Additional Lake Memphremagog artworks by W. H. Bartlett

"The Owl's Head"

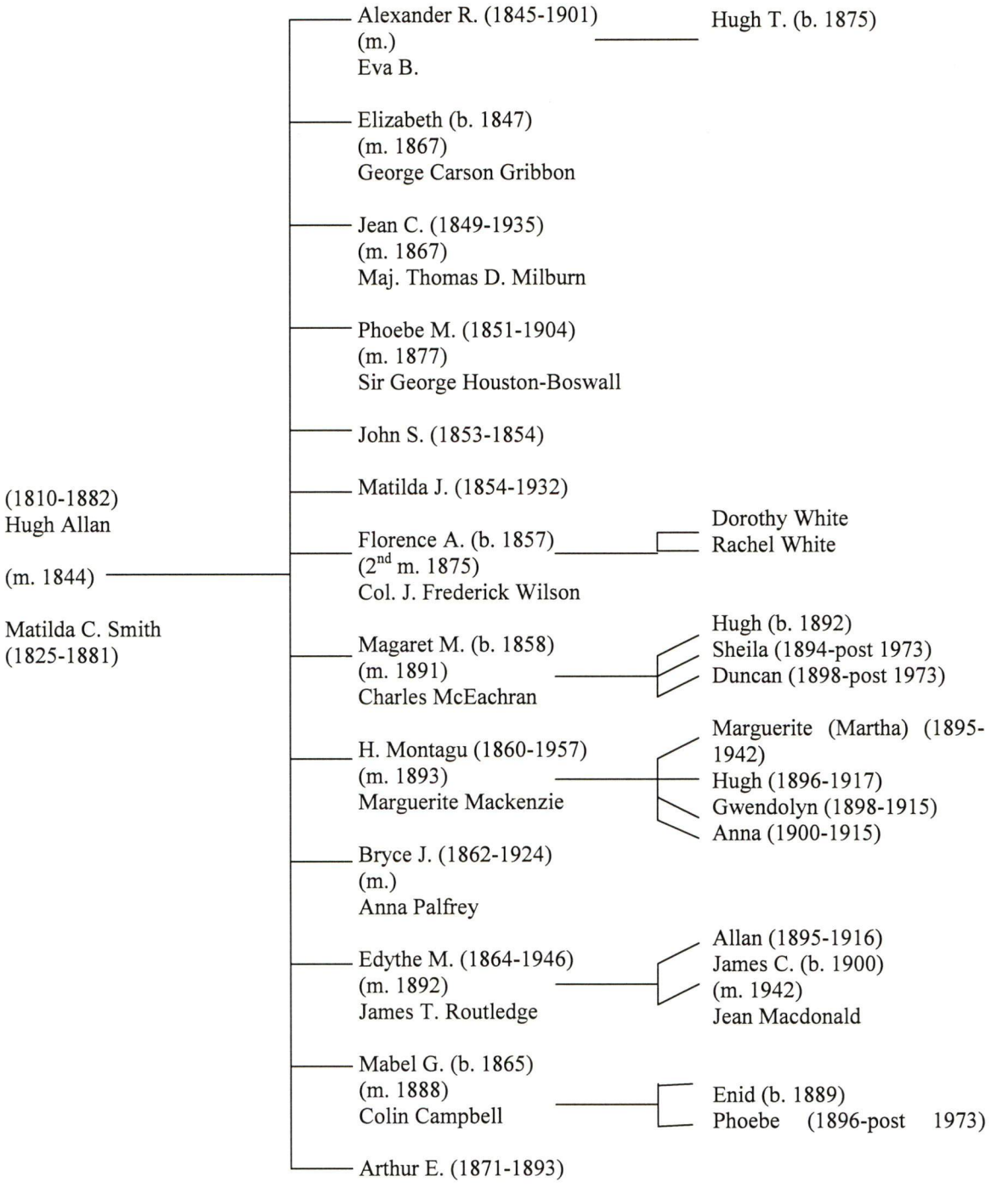


"Lake Memphremagog"

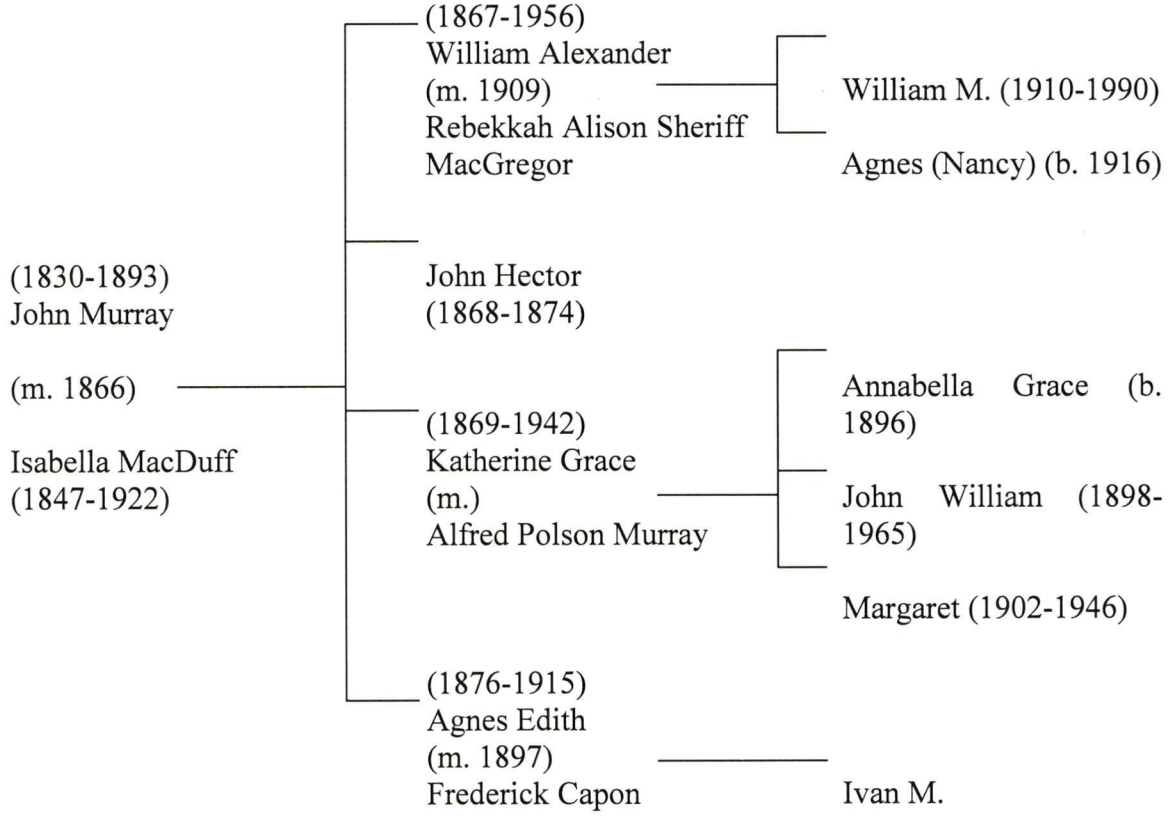


Source: N. P. Willis, *Canadian Scenery Illustrated, from drawings by W. H. Bartlett,* Vol. II, (1842, reprint, London: Peter Martin Associates, 1967), 6, 16.

APPENDIX II:
Sir Hugh Allan family tree

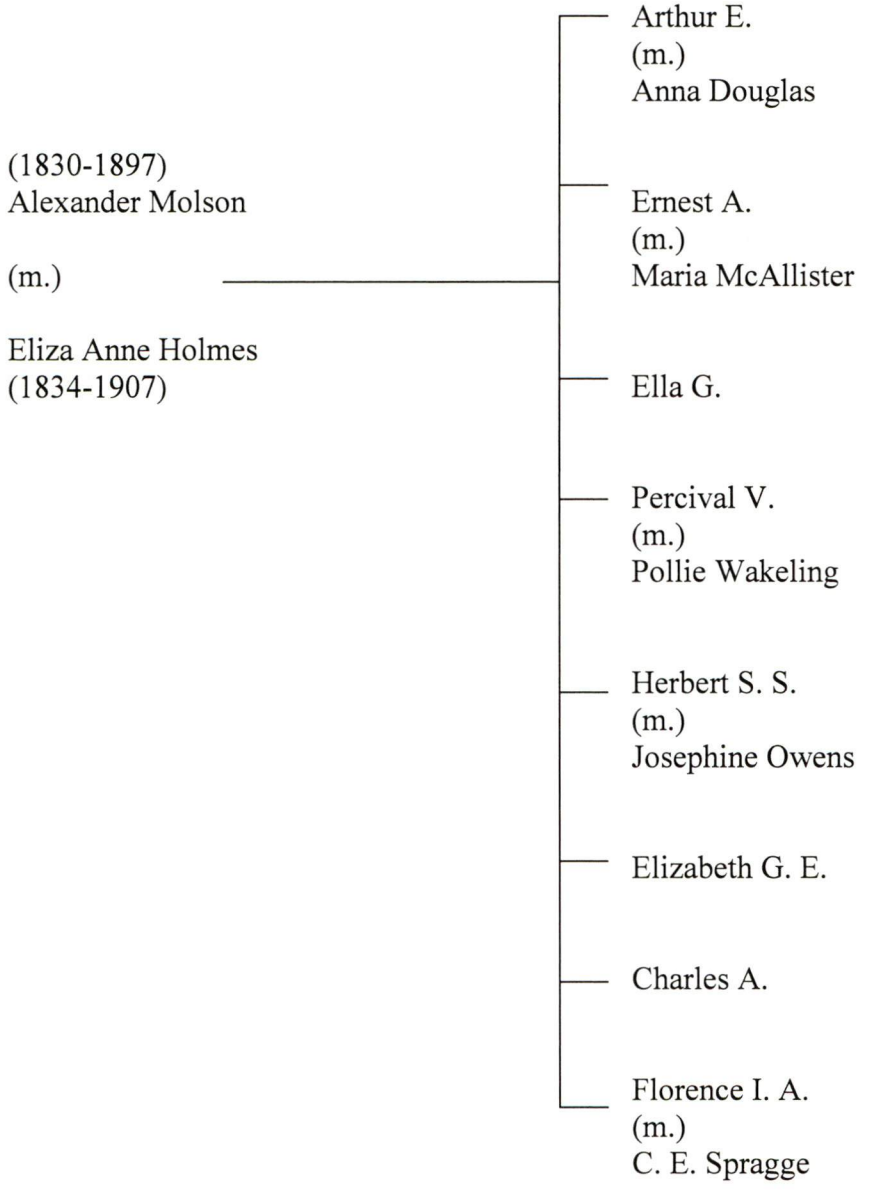


APPENDIX III:
John Murray family tree

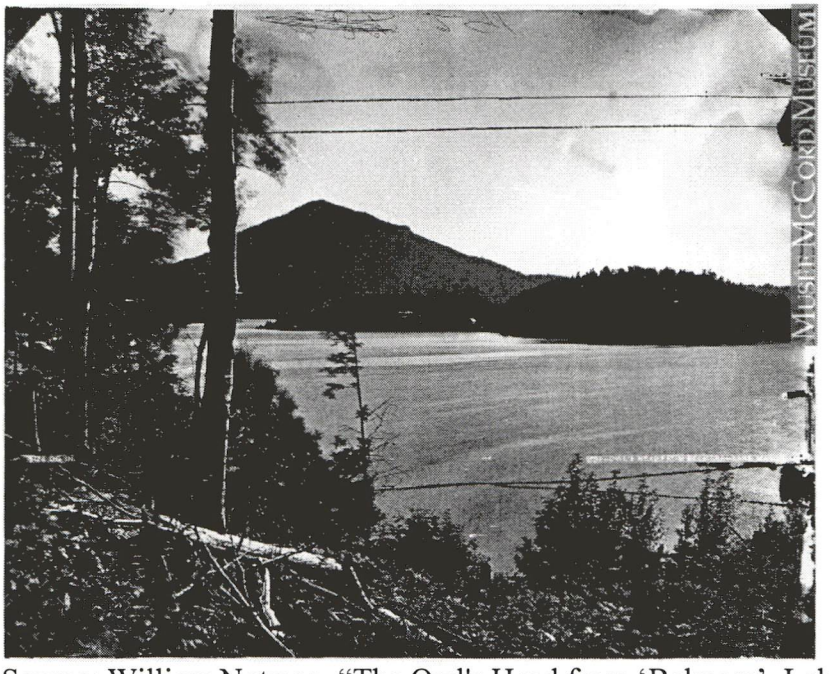


APPENDIX IV:
Alexander Molson family tree

Information obtained from: Bernard K Sandwell, *The Molson Family*, (Montreal: Ronalds, 1933), Table No. 4.

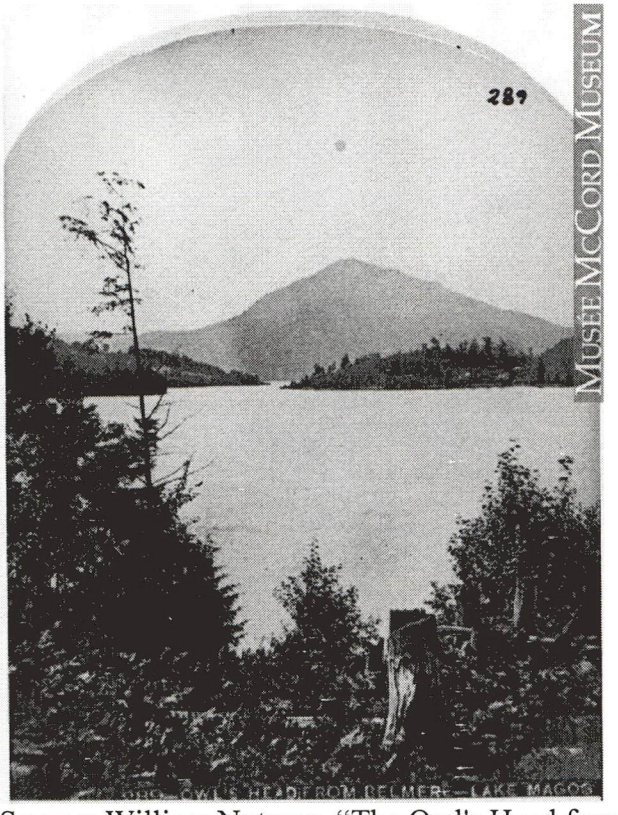


APPENDIX V
Additional photographs of the Lake Memphremagog estates

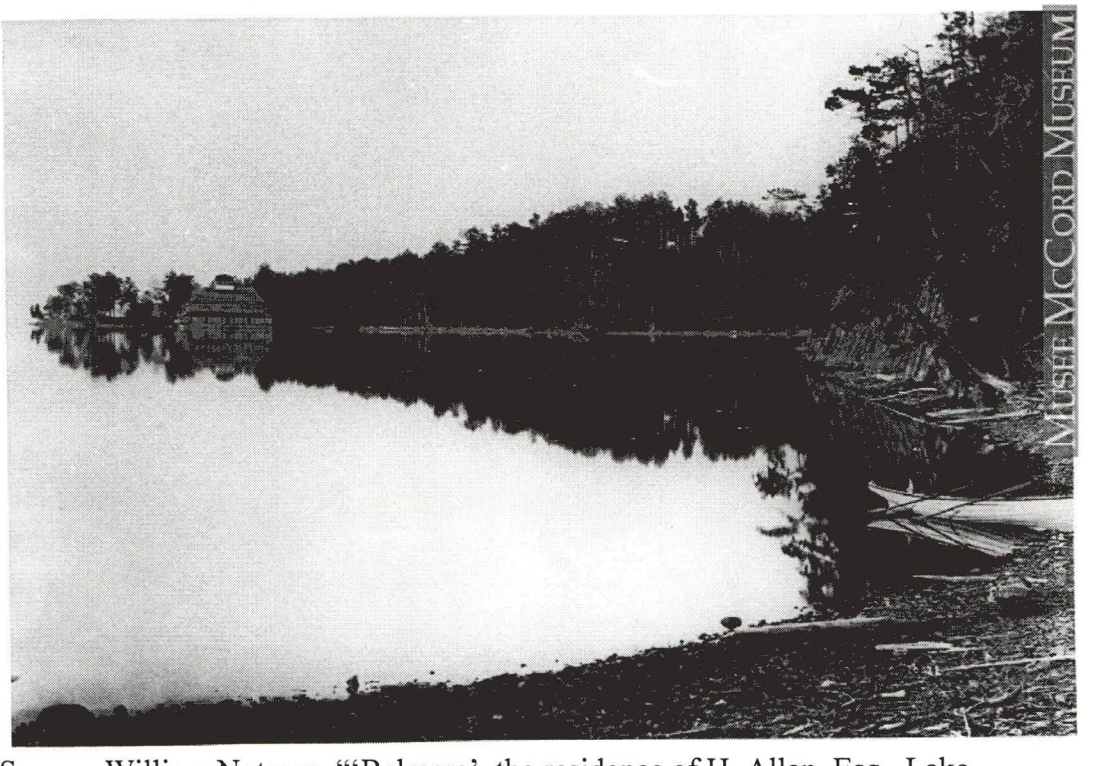


Source: William Notman, "The Owl's Head from 'Belmere', Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29025.1.

Source: William Notman, "The Owl's Head from 'Belmere', Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29024.



Source: William Notman, "The Owl's Head from 'Belmere', Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29027.1.

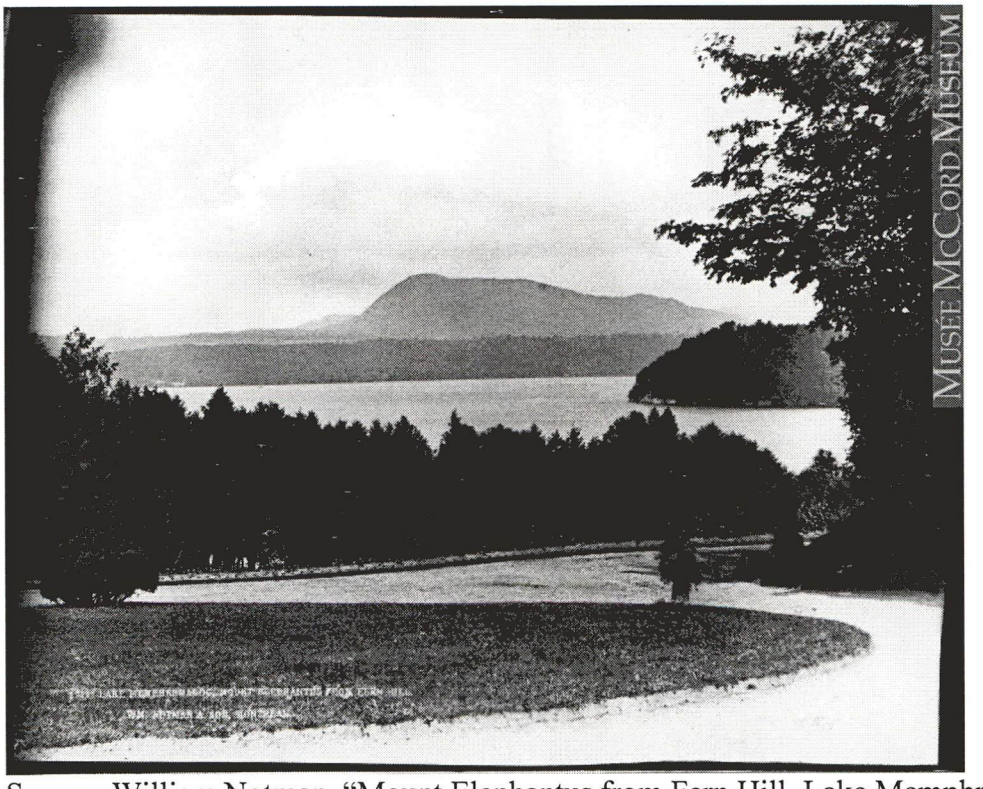


Source: William Notman, "'Belmere', the residence of H. Allan, Esq., Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29022.1.

Source: William Notman, "Mount Elephantus from 'Belmere', Lake Memphremagog, QC, about 1887," McCord Museum, VIEW-1972.1.

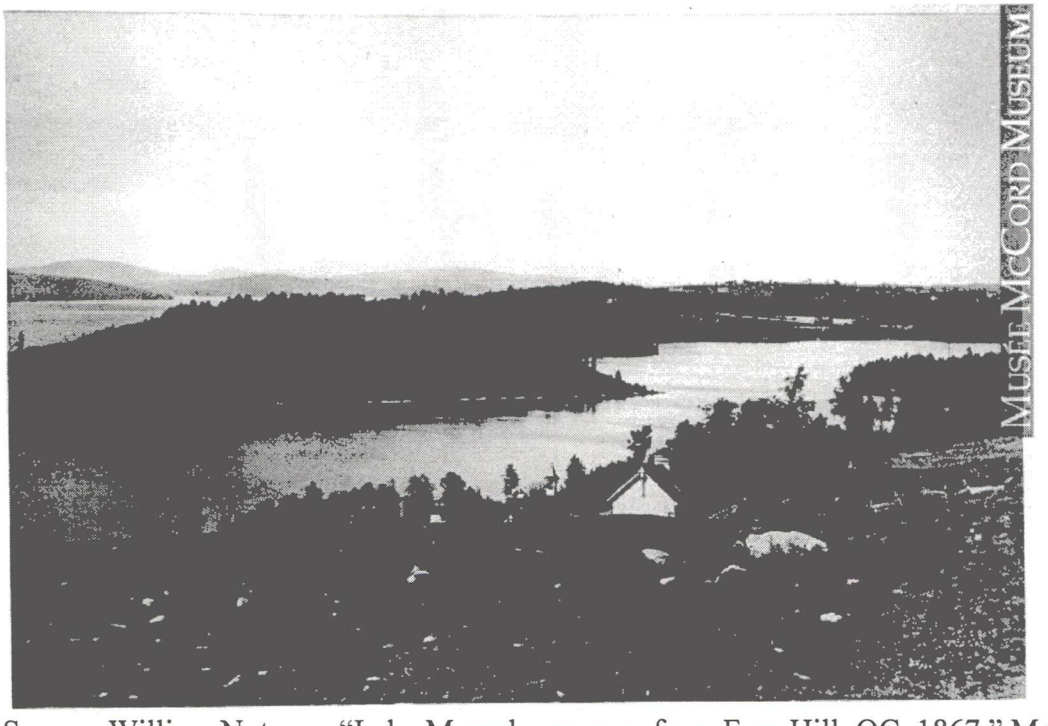
Source: William Notman, "The landing at Fern Hill, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, N-0000.94.30.

Source: William Notman, "A. Molson's house at Fern Hill, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29045.



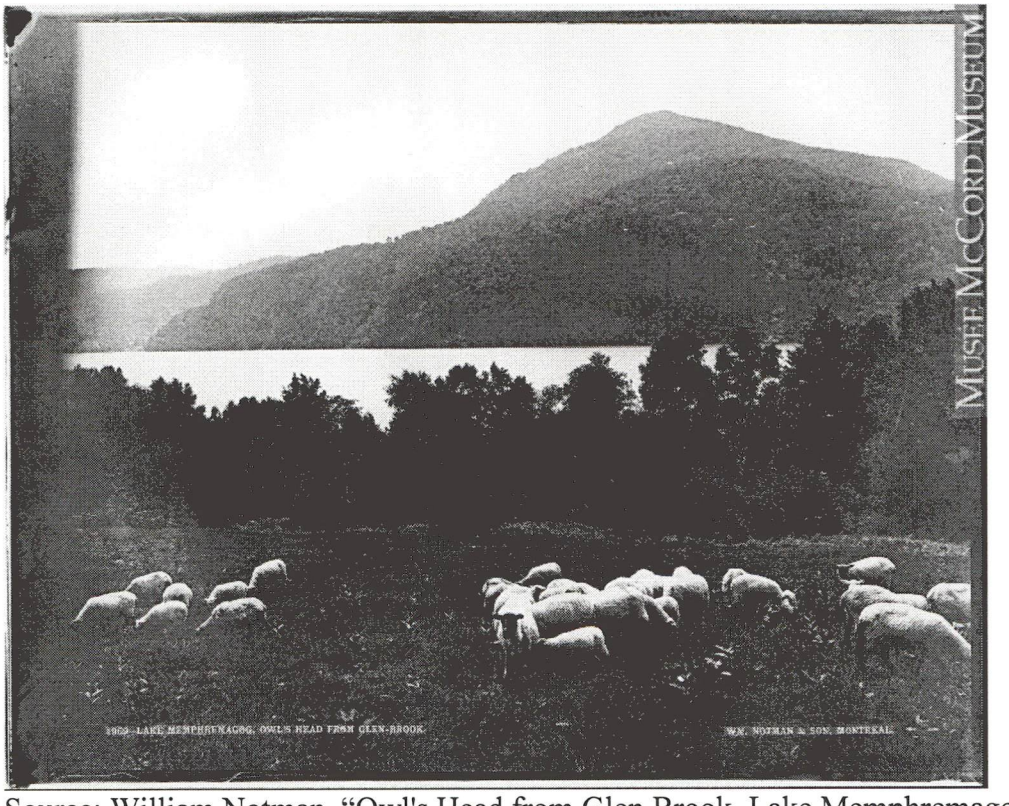
Source: William Notman, "Mount Elephantus from Fern Hill, Lake Memphremagog, QC, about 1887," McCord Museum, VIEW-1971.

Source: William Notman, "Owl's Head, from Fern Hill, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29037.1.



Source: William Notman, "Lake Memphremagog, from Fern Hill, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29050.

Source: William Notman, "Owl's Head from Fern Hill, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29056.A.



Source: William Notman, "Owl's Head from Glen Brook, Lake Memphremagog, QC, about 1887," McCord Museum, VIEW-1969.

Source: William Notman, "Owl's Head, from Glen Brook, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29041.1.

Source: William Notman, "Lake Memphremagog from 'Glen-Brook', QC, about 1887," McCord Museum, VIEW-1974.1.

Source: William Notman, "Owl's Head from Woodlands, Lake Memphremagog, QC, 1867," McCord Museum, I-29021.1.

APPENDIX VI:
List of summer property owners on Lake Memphremagog, to 1914
(largely from the areas of Georgeville and eastern shore)

The following list was compiled from excerpts from the *Stanstead Journal,* Edythe Routledge's diaries and John Scott's "A Briefing Paper on the nineteenth Century Summer Retreats on Lake Memphremagog," unpublished, 2006.

The information appearing in parentheses represents, as follows: (location of primary residence; approximate date the summer property was purchased; if known, name of summer property; general location of summer property)

Judge Charles D. Day (Montreal, 1850s, *Glenbrook*, Stanstead Township)
John Murray (Montreal, 1861, *Dunkeld,* Stanstead Township)*
Alexander Molson (Montreal, 1864, *Fern Hill*, Stanstead Township)*
Hugh Allan (Montreal, 1866, *Belmere*, Stanstead Township)
Robert A. Lindsay (Montreal, 1870s, *Woodlands*, Stanstead Township)*
H. J. Mudge (Montreal, 1870s, *Wigwam,* Stanstead Township)*
Thomas W. Ritchie (Montreal, 1874, *Bolton Cliff,* Bolton Township)
A. C. Zabriskie (New York, NY; 1885, Province Island)
E. Goff Penny (Montreal, 1887, *Fairwaters,* Stanstead Township)
R. Stanley Bagg (unknown, 1888, *St. Clair Lodge,* Stanstead Township)
Rev. Samuel J. Barrows (Boston, Mass.; 1889, *Camp by the Cliff/Birch Bay/Cedar Lodge,* Stanstead Township)
A.G. Sheriff (Orange, New Jersey; 1890s, *The Shak/Bonhard*, Stanstead Township)*
Ridgeway Holbrook (Boston, Mass.; 1891; *Hemlocks;* Stanstead Township)*
John B. Pearse (Boston, Mass.; 1892, *Camp in the Pines/Pightle,* Stanstead Township)
Charles W. Colby (Montreal, 1898, Stanstead Township)*
Dr. Blackadder (Montreal, 1898, Stanstead Township)
James R. Ayer (New York, NY; 1898, Stanstead Township)
G. F. Greenwood (Montreal, 1900s, *Tanglewood*, Stanstead Township)
L. B. Ward (unknown, 1900s, *Hawklehoe*, Bolton Township)*
E. S. Sanford (South Orange, New Jersey; 1900s; *Edgewood,* Stanstead Township)*
Randall Comfort (New York, 1900s, *Ellabank*, Stanstead Township)
Harold Redpath (Montreal?, 1901, *Bonnie Brae,* Stanstead Township)*
Christopher R. Eliot (Boston, Mass.; 1903, *Maple Hill*, Stanstead Township)
Judge Newell (Bristol, Conn.; 1907; Minnow Island)
Rev. C. R. Elliot (Boston, Mass.; 1907, Stanstead Township)

* = Names that appear regularly in Edythe Routledge's diaries.

Special note: I have only included the names of the summer families that originally owned a specific property and not the names of those who may have subsequently purchased an already established summer property. The two exceptions to this are the estates of Hugh Allan, *Belmere*, which was purchased by H. Chapman in 1864, and of R. Lindsay, *Woodlands,* which was owned and built by William N. Woods in the 1860s. In

the case of the latter, as indicated by the sources, Wood was not a prominent figure on the lake but the Lindsay family retained the property for generations and, for this reason, Lindsay is listed above. For similar reasons, Allan is listed above instead of Chapman.